

LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

973.24

H86n

1865

v. 1



The person charging this material is responsible for its return to the library from which it was withdrawn on or before the **Latest Date** stamped below.

Theft, mutilation, and underlining of books are reasons for disciplinary action and may result in dismissal from the University.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS LIBRARY AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

DEC 8 1976

JAN 6 1977

DEC 22 1976

MAY 29 1986

MAY 16 1986

JAN 02 1992

APR 08 1992

NOV 12 2003

3/17/04

THE
HISTORY

OF THE

Indian Wars in New England

FROM THE

FIRST SETTLEMENT TO THE TERMINATION OF
THE WAR WITH KING PHILIP, IN 1677.

FROM THE

ORIGINAL WORK,

BY THE

REV. WILLIAM HUBBARD.

*Carefully Revised, and Accompanied with an Historical
Preface, Life and Pedigree of the Author,*

AND

Extensive Notes,

BY SAMUEL G. DRAKE.

VOL. I.

PRINTED FOR W. ELLIOT WOODWARD,
ROXBURY, MASS.
MDCCCLXV.

No. 25

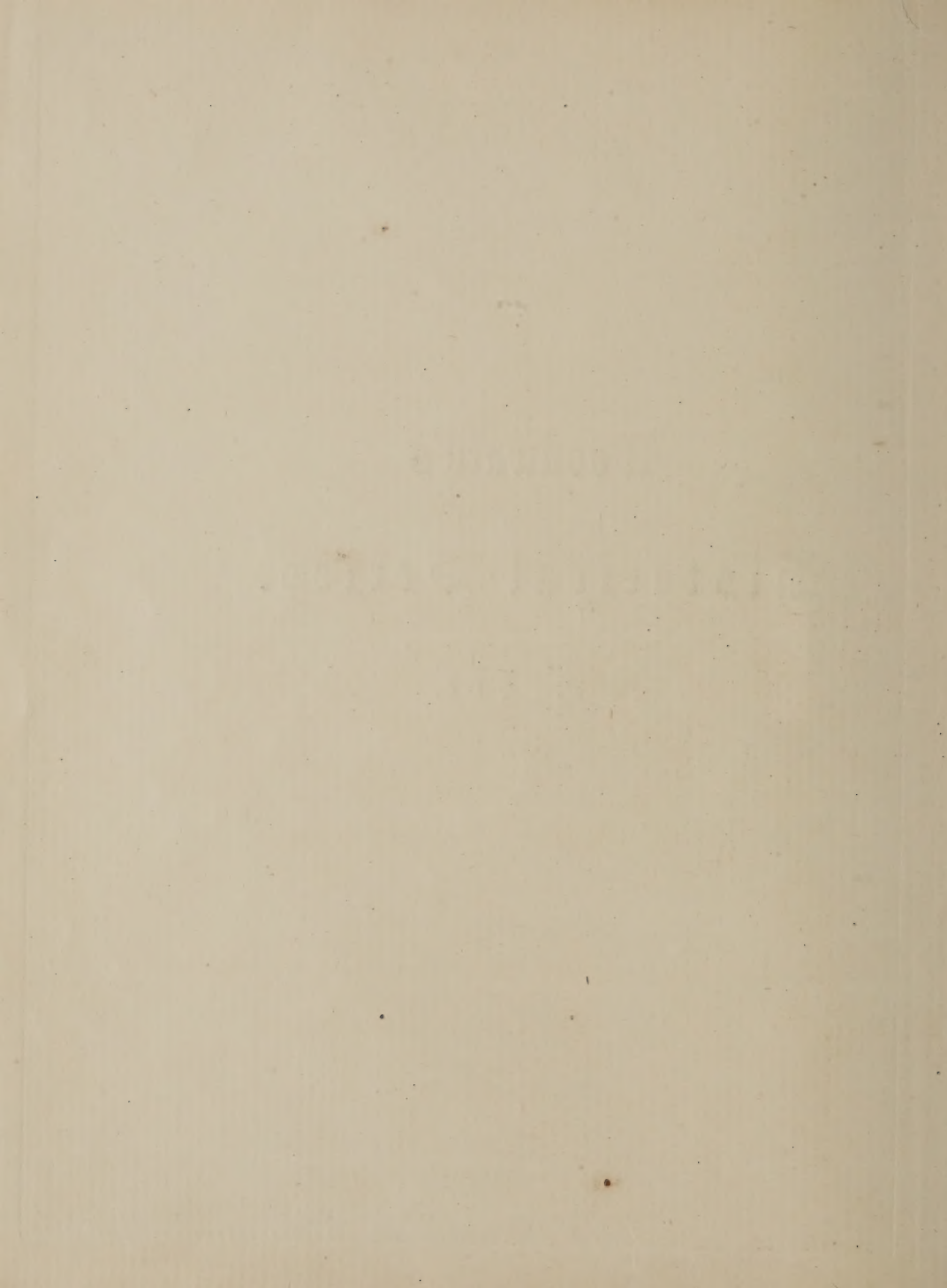
Entered according to Act of Congress, in the Year 1865.
By SAMUEL G. DRAKE,
in the Clerk's office of the District Court of the United States
for the District of Massachusetts.

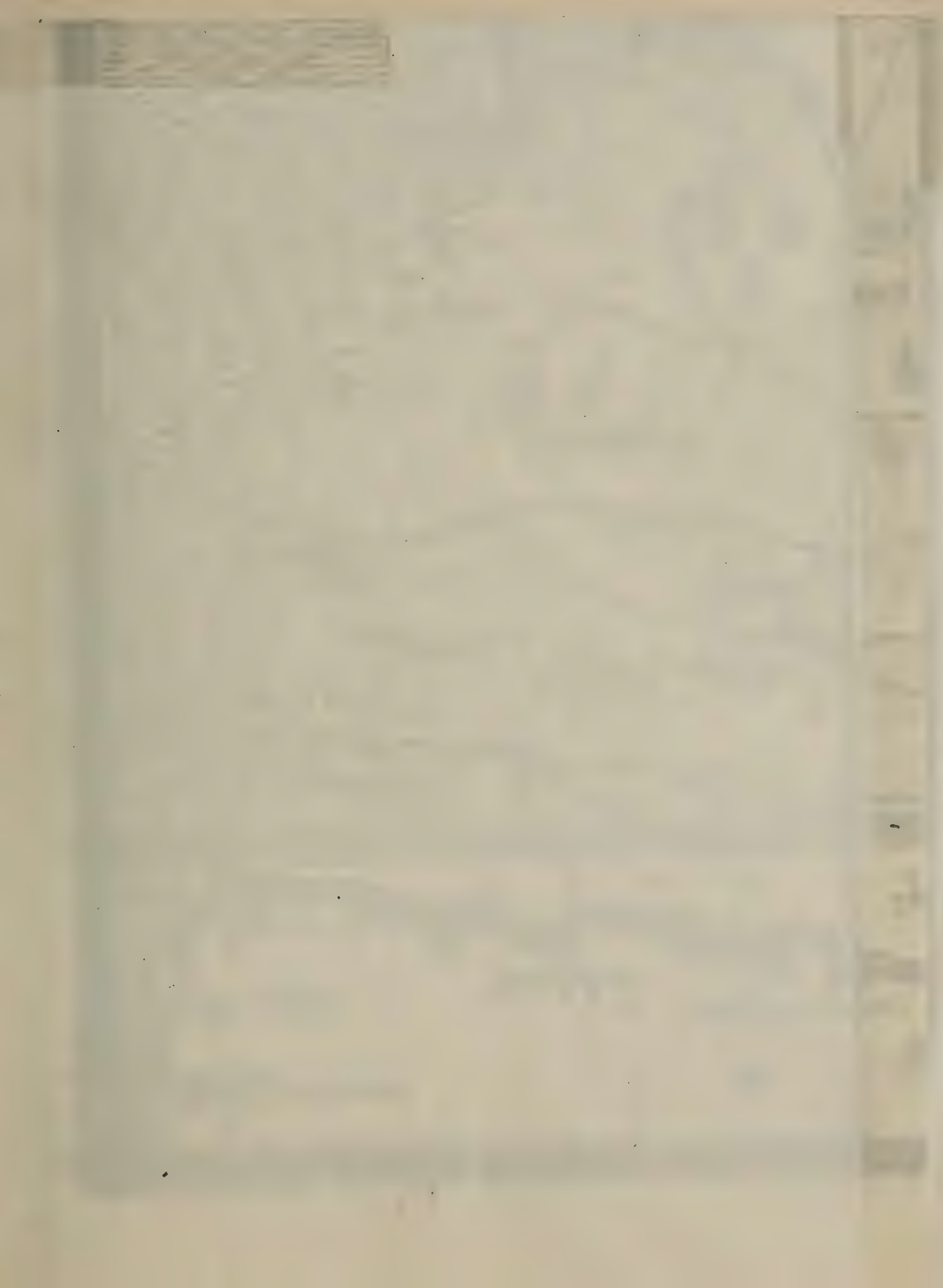
EDITION OF THREE HUNDRED AND FIFTY COPIES, OF WHICH
FIFTY ARE ON LARGE PAPER.

HPP (1994-96): not selected
film exists at another library

Woodward's
Historical Series.

No. III.



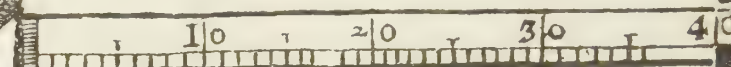


A MAP OF NEW-ENGLAND,

Being the first that ever was her: cut, and done by the best Pattern that could be had, which being in some places defective, it made the other less exact: yet doth it sufficiently shew the Situation of the Countrey, and conveniently well the distance of Places.

The figures that are joyned with the Names of Places are to distinguish such as have been assaulted by the Indians from others.

A Scale of forty Miles.



973.24
H 86n
1865
v. 1

TO MY SON,
LIEUT. COLONEL GEORGE BERNARD DRAKE,

AS A
TESTIMONY TO HIS PATRIOTISM AND DEVOTION
IN THE CAUSE OF HIS COUNTRY,
WHO FOR NEAR FOUR YEARS,
AT A GREAT SACRIFICE, AND THE PERILS OF NUMEROUS
SANGUINARY FIELDS,
HAS BATTLED FOR THE RESTORATION OF THE UNION ;

AND ALSO
TO THE MEMORY OF A BROTHER,
CAPT. JOHN LOUIS DRAKE,
WHO FELL AT ANTIETAM,
THIS TRIBUTE IS DUTIFULLY AND GRATEFULLY MADE,

BY

THE EDITOR.

1865

14 Apr. '23

copy to my 22 rec'd Baker v. 1-2



PREFATORY BY THE EDITOR.



THIRTY-NINE Years ago I proposed to myself an Edition of Hubbard's *Indian Wars*. I had, not long previous, edited and republished Church's *Entertaining History of King Philip's War*. The Labor and Research bestowed upon this Work gave me some additional Taste for the Undertaking, and had made me familiar with the Sources of Information. But as I had not then seen a Copy of the first or second Edition of Mr. Hubbard's Work, I had rather a Vague notion of the Value of it. The only Copy then accessible to me was one of an Edition printed at Brattleborough, Vermont, in 1814, a Duodecimo of 348 Pages—as sorry a Specimen of Typography as could be found, even

at that Day—brown Paper and outside Quires or *Retrieve* at that. The Book-stores of Boston then afforded no other Copy of that always popular Work, and this I purchased of Mr. Joseph Bumstead, a Printer, then a second-hand Bookseller, on the Corner of Wilson's Lane and State Street, up Stairs. Not long after I was possessed of this Copy of Hubbard, I found a perfect Copy of the original (Boston) Edition in the Hands of my Friend, Mr. John Farmer, at Concord, N. H. On communicating my Object of republishing Hubbard to Mr. Farmer, he highly approved of it, and loaned me the Copy in his keeping to enable me to correct my Copy by it. I immediately set about making mine conform to the Other, and soon found I had undertaken a very serious Job; and that to have made a complete Copy of the Original would have required much less Labor than the Corrections I was obliged to make. Parts were transposed, Words and Phrases altered, Lines left out, and, in short, it was a shocking offence to Lovers of decent Printing, and an unpardonable Sin against one of the best Writers of New-England. However, I made my Copy conform, in all literary Respects, to the Original.

Owing to certain Circumstances, not necessary to be detailed, my Edition of Hubbard was deferred. But, in the mean time, I had met with some twenty or thirty Copies of the Boston Edition of 1775, at an Auction, uncut and in brown paper Covers, all of which I purchased. One of these Copies I prepared to print from, though I found nearly as much Labor in making it conform to the Original as the Brattleborough Copy.

In my researches for an Edition of Hubbard, I had made extensive Memoranda for a Biography of Indian Chiefs. These I published in 1832, under the Title of *Indian Biography*, &c. Thus I was diverted from what had appeared to me a very important and desirable Object, by the Magnitude of a Field into which I had almost unconsciously wandered, teeming with an Harvest of Indian History, rendering hitherto Publications upon that Subject comparatively insignificant. Hence I became further diverted, and hence, in 1836, resulted *The Book of the Indians*.

But in all this Time I had not abandoned the Idea of an Edition of Hubbard, and always kept an interleaved Copy by me, in which a Note was

occasionally added. Thus much I have thought it proper to note in explanation of the long Time the Edition of Hubbard has been delayed.

Respecting the various Editions of Hubbard, I may remark, that the only correct Edition, and the only edition any writer on New-England History can depend upon, is the second. Although it differs but little from the first, it is the second which received the last Corrections of its Author. This was printed in London, in 1677, the same Year in which the first was printed in Boston. These Editions are of the same size—both in small quarto, and nearly Page for Page. Both Editions contained the curious Woodcut Map, the Fac-simile of which accompanies the present Edition. No Edition since has contained the Map.

It is remarkable that the Boston and London Editions should appear so near each other as to Time, especially in view of the great Difference between then and now in Communication with New and Old England; for we observe that it was on the 29th of March, 1677, when the Committee of the General Court gave the Work their Sanction, and that on the 27th of June, of the same Year—not quite three Months

thereafter — it was “Licensed” by “Roger L’Estrange,” in London. And it is still more remarkable, when we are assured that the Work was in the Author’s Hands a Month later than the Date of the Committee’s License, or certainly until some Time in April, 1677.¹

To the unreflecting it may appear strange that there was no edition of so valuable and popular a Work as *Hubbard’s Indian Wars* for a Period of about one hundred Years. But it is only necessary to consider, that Readers here were few, and that few scarcely thought of such a Matter as American History. Many of the Grandchildren of those who were living in the Time of Philip’s War were upon the Stage in 1775. To them the Stories of Indian Atrocities were familiar, and they may have thought they had no Occasion to be reminded of them by reading. However, as before-mentioned, an Edition was published in Boston in 1775. Proposals² were issued to print it by Subscription in that year, which Proposals were dated, “Boston, January 18.” Between this

¹ See page 5 of postscript. My Attention was first called to

² A copy of these Proposals may be seen in the *Essex Gazette*, page 4 of the issue Feb. 7th, 1775. this by my kind friend, Samuel P. Fowler, Esq., of Danvers Port, a pattern Antiquary.

Date and the Date of the publisher's or editor's Preface, occurred the Battles of Concord and Lexington. How a List of Subscribers could have been gotten up in such turbulent Times as then distracted the Community, it is difficult to comprehend. Indeed, it is not unlikely that the Subscription List was abandoned, as no List appears in the Work, nor is any thing said about one. In less than a Month from the Date of this Preface occurred the Battle of Bunker's hill, which, we may reasonably conjecture, that while it decimated the Flower of the British Army, it might entirely extinguish the frail Proposals for an edition of Indian wars.

Mr. John Boyle was the Publisher of the Edition of 1775. His Book-store, as late as 1813, was Number 18, Marlborough Street. It does not appear who the Editor of this Edition was. His Preface does not require to be inserted in this Edition. The Notes with which Mr. Boyle's Editor has favored us are very few and of small Value. Thomas mentions Boyle in his History of Printing, and might have told us something about the Work of Hubbard and its Editor, but he does not mention them, although he was among those appointed to receive Subscribers for Mr.

Boyle's Edition. In the Proposals the Title of Hubbard is made to read thus : "A Narrative of the INDIAN WARS in New England from 1607 to 1677, containing a very particular Account of the War with the PEQUODS, the War commonly called King *Philip's*, the *Narragansett* War, and the Wars from *Piscataqua* to Pemaquid Together with a Preface, & some marginal Notes by another Hand." Then follows this strong Recommendation of the Work, written, no doubt, by the same Person who wrote the Preface : "This brief, though exact NARRATIVE, is now in but few Hands ; & unless reprinted, must soon be entirely lost, & with it, in a great Measure, the memorable Salvations of Divine Providence to this People in their infant State, worthy to be kept in everlasting Remembrance. In order, therefore, that the present, as well as future Generations may be made acquainted with the Miseries and Hardships which their renowned Ancestors underwent in bringing forward the Settlement of New-England, the Publisher, at the Request of a Number of respectable Gentlemen, hath issued these Proposals, not doubting that a sufficient Number of Subscriptions may be procured amply to compensate for the Under-

taking.” Following this is copied the Recommendation, (of Mr. Bradstreet, Mr. Dennison and Mr. Dudley) which fronts the Title-page of the original Edition. Then are given the “CON-DITIONS.”

“I. *Hubbard's* History of the Indian Wars will contain about 300 Pages¹ in octavo,² to be printed on a good Paper & neat Type. II. That so truly valuable & entertaining a Work may be more universally spread among Mankind, the Publisher has put the price to Subscribers so low, as *two piftareens*, sewed in blue³ [paper covers] which will be much cheaper than any Book of the kind, ever printed in *England* or *America*, a Book of that Size being commonly fold at *four shillings* lawful Money. III. If any of the Subscribers should choose to have them Bound, they are desired to signify it at the Time of subscribing, & the Publisher will have them done for 1*l.* lawful Money, in plain Binding, & 1*l.* & 4*d.* gilt and lettered. IV. The work will be put to the Press as soon as a sufficient number of Subscribers are obtained barely to defray Expence, which the Publisher flatters himself will be in a few Weeks. V. Those that subscribe for *Six* will have a *seventh* gratis. Subscriptions are gratefully received by *John Boyle*, the Publisher, in Marlborough Street: *Isaiab Thomas*, Printer, near the Mill Bridge, & Edes & Gall, Printers in Queen street, Boston : & by S. & E. Hall, Printers in Salem.”

The Edition of Mr. Boyle I believe to be the third, as I have not heard of any between 1677 and 1775. The subsequent editions are all Copies of that of Boyle, or Copies of those copied from his, and do not require but a passing Notice.

¹ It contains 288 pages.

² It is in duodecimo.

³ In this Condition were the

Copies purchased by me at an Auction, before mentioned. Copies of

this Edition are not rare.

The first Edition met with after 1775 is dated Worcester, 1801. It is also a Duodecimo, and contains 410 pages. "Printed by Daniel Greenleaf, for Joseph Wilder." The Printers or Publishers seem to have become quite alive to the importance of Hubbard's Indian Wars, about this Time, as three other Editions followed very soon after, namely, one at Norwich, Connecticut, in 1802, one at Danbury, in the same State, 1803, and another at Stockbridge, in 1803, also. The Edition of Norwich is without Date, printed by John Trumbull. An Advertisement of the Time shows it to have been published in May, 1802. It is in 12mo also, and contains 228 Pages on a fair Type, but coarse bluish Paper. It is from the 1775 Edition, "with some Omissions of the introductory Remarks, and occasional Reflections of the Author."¹

We come now to the Danbury Edition of Stiles Nichols, 1803, a faithful Copy of the Norwich Edition, Errors of the Press not excepted. This is distinguishable by a Cut of an Indian in the Title-page, which Cut, could it have been seen by T. F. Dibdin, he never would have made up Faces at the engraved Title of a certain Edition of

¹ Historical Magazine, and Notes and Queries, i., 348.

Stow's Chronicle, for if the cutting in Stow is "enough to give one the Cholic," that of this Indian is enough to frighten any Body but an Antiquary, and might well cause a less veteran Reader than ourself to exclaim, like Patroclus :

"Some rugged rocks hard entrails gave the form,
And raging seas produced thee in a storm."

The most respectable Edition since the two first is that of Stockbridge, 1803, an Octavo of 375 Pages, on small pica Type. It was published by Subscription, and the subscribers' Names occupied six closely printed Pages. It was "printed by Heman Willard, May 1803."

About 1834, (the Title-page is without date) Samuel L. Knapp reprinted Hubbard in a sort of Periodical, in large quarto Form. The Work of Mr. Knapp is entitled, *Library of American History*, and appears to have been undertaken with a view of bringing standard Works on American History into a compact Form and at a small Price ; but it was a Failure. The smallness of the Type was enough to kill it, and the Editorship was of very small Account. In this Field of the Dead was the last Issue of Hubbard laid. It is now proposed to resuscitate the excellent Author, and restore him to the Place he is entitled to among the living Ones.

My Notes are much briefer than they would have been had I published the Work many Years ago, for the Reason that innumerable Sources of Information have been laid open and rendered accessible by Publications too numerous to mention. It will, therefore, generally be only necessary to refer to Works known to be easily accessible. It may, however, be well to apprise the Reader that two of the Works, hitherto accessible to but a few, have recently been reprinted. I refer to the two Works of Dr. Increase Mather, covering the whole Period of New-England Indian Wars to the Close of King Philip's War. The Works of Mather, while they are invaluable to the Historian, are far inferior as a whole to the Work of Mr. Hubbard. This can, and ought to be, freely allowed, and in no invidious Spirit. Their republication with the Notes accompanying render Notes to Hubbard in many Cases unnecessary. Besides the Works of Mather as a Source of Information on the Indian Wars, it is hardly necessary to call attention to that crude, but nevertheless authentic and voluminous Mass of Materials, entitled, *The Book of the Indians*. These Materials, of themselves, furnish a pretty full Sequel to the old Works on the Indian Wars.

But since the Publication of the Book of the Indians (in 1833) Histories of a great number of New England Towns have been put forth. In many of these Materials are found important for the perfecting of our Indian History. I need not enumerate sources of Information, as my Notes will sufficiently indicate them. I will, however, refer to my Edition of *Church's Entertaining History of King Philip's War*, only for the Purpose of observing that it was *done* when materials were very scarce and generally beyond my Reach. Indeed, I may say, it was prepared for publication in the very Infancy of Knowledge upon the Subject, so far as concerned myself. I therefore hoped at some Time to republish it, with what modern Light I could throw upon it, and kept an interleaved Copy in which I have made many Additions. But I shall probably be saved the Trouble of another Edition, as the Work of Church is now announced, by a brother Bookseller, for publication, and quite unceremoniously as respects myself.

In noticing the first Edition of this work, Reference was omitted to be made to an Errata which occupied the last Page of the introductory

Prefatory Note by the Editor. xvii

Matter. That Errata is thus prefaced: "*The Printer to the Reader.* By Reason of the Author's long and necessary Absence from the Press, together with the Difficulty of reading his Hand, many Faults have escaped in the Printing, either by mistaking of Words, or misprinting of Sentences, which doe in some Places not a little confound the Sence, which the Reader is desired to correct before he begins to read." The Errata is carefully corrected in the second or London Edition, and is only mentioned here to show how troublesome it was to Printer and Author, living only twenty-seven Miles apart, in 1676. However, "the long and necessary Absence of the Author" may refer to some other Absence, and not to his usual Absence from Boston, when at Home.

As in my former Editions of the *Old Chronicles*, so in this, I have endeavored to give the Work literally. The Punctuation I have, in some few instances, found it necessary to change. Spelling has not been altered. As to the Use of capital Letters the Compositor has been instructed to endeavor uniformity, and to conform to the Custom of the Period of the second Edition.

xviii *Prefatory Note by the Editor.*

The Paging in Brackets is that of the same Edition.

Law. G. Drake

Boston,

13 Bromfield street,

16 December, 1864.





LIFE OF THE AUTHOR.

THE Rev. William Hubbard, was born at Tendering,¹ in Essex, England, in 1621, or 1622; came to New England in 1635, as is found by a certain List of Passengers in the Rolls Office, London.² His Father was William Hubbard, designated on the List as a Husbandman, but was from the first, in New England, stiled "Mister." All those bearing the Name of Hubbard, who came at this Time, in the Ship Defence, which sailed from London in July, 1635,³ are presumed to have belonged to the Family of Mr. William Hubbard. Their Names are "W. Hubbard, *Husb.*, aged 40; Judith, a. 25; John, a. 15; William, a. 13; Nathaniel, a. 6; Richard, a. 4; Martha, a. 22; Mary, 20. The two last were probably Sisters of Mr. William Hubbard, the others his Children. The Judith,

¹ Now written *Tendring*. Believed to be the Residence of his Father before the Emigration of the Family. It is five and an half Miles from Manningtree. There is another near Saffron Walden.

² See *Founders of New England*, 39.

³ There is an Intimation that he may have been in the Country as early as 1630, which is not unlikely, and had returned for his Family.

a. 25, is supposed to have been his Wife; if so she was probably a second Wife. A Word more of Mr. William Hubbard, before proceeding to speak of his eminent Son, our Author.

Mr. William Hubbard settled in Ipswich on his arrival in New England, was made a Freeman in 1638. As early as 1629, he advanced fifty Pounds to the Company in England "for the carrying on of the Plantation," which shows that he had been some Time interested in the Country, and was a man of Substance. He was a Deputy to the General Court in the Years 1638, 1639, 1643, 1644, 1645 and 1646, and a Justice of the Quarterly Court. The General Court, in 1638, granted him 300 acres of Land, probably on account of the Money he had advanced the Massachusetts Company before the Emigration; but five Years later he had a Grant of 1000 Acres. He removed to Boston in 1662, and died here in 1670, aged 75. Capt. Edward Johnson speaks of him as "a learned Man, being well read in State Matters, of a very affable and humble Behavior, who hath expended much of his Estate to helpe on this Worke; altho he be slow of Speech, yet is hee downright for the Businesse."¹ Yet he was acknowledged one of the most able speakers in the General Court. He endowed the Grammar School in Ipswich, and gave the Ground for the School-house.

Mr. Hubbard graduated at Harvard College in

¹ Wonder-working Providence, 109-10.

1642, prepared himself for the Ministry, and was settled in his adopted Residence as Colleague with the Rev. Thomas Cobbet in 1656. He soon became noted for his Learning and superior Knowledge; and yet seems to have avoided Distinction, to have been happier at Home in his own Family circle than in Places which are generally sought for Ostentation and Display. And notwithstanding he avoided Controversies, he could not always Escape being placed in an Attitude from which, no doubt, he would gladly have been free. Thus we are told he was one of the seventeen Clergymen who bore testimony against the settlement of the Rev. John Davenport over the Old South Church in Boston, in 1667.¹ The General Court took up the Matter and passed a vote of Censure on the seventeen Clergymen for their Decision. Against this interference Mr. Hubbard, with others, protested.² And their Action, it appears, had the Effect to cause the Court to apologize. In 1674, he was again one of a Council of thirteen to settle a Difficulty in the same Church about the admission of certain Members.³ We next find him attempting to quiet a Disturbance in the Church of Rowley, but with what Success is not stated. This was in the Beginning of November, 1675, when he was engaged on his History of the Indian Wars. The next Year he preached the Election Sermon, which was printed. It is among

¹ See Wisner's Hist. Old South, 8; and Hutchinson, Hist. Mass., i, 270.

² Felt's Ipswich, 228.

³ Wisner's Old South, 11, 84.

the best then ever issued — flowing with a depth of Thought, and a Philosophy which no ordinary mind could produce. It is in a quarto Form, and is occasionally found bound up with the first Boston Edition of his History of the Indian Wars. The following Year, namely, 1677, that History appeared, of which sufficient has been said in the Preface to this Edition.

We have but a vague Hint that Mr. Hubbard made a Voyage to Europe; that he was in England in 1678; that he returned “by October to the great Satisfaction of his Parishoners.”¹ Nothing further could be learned, it would seem, by the very diligent and pains-taking Author of the History of Ipswich, long a Resident in a Part of that ancient Town, and, as is presumed, conversant with its Records. Nor has any one told us whether there are any Papers extant which once belonged to our Historian. It is not improbable that, as has been suggested in the History of Ipswich, Mr. Hubbard sailed for London about May, 1677, and that he was then able to take with him some Impressions of the Edition of his Indian Wars, and to superintend its republication there.

Mr. Hubbard's next literary Labor was upon a History of New England. How long he had it in Hand does not appear, though it may be con-

¹ He says incidentally in his Preface to the Hist. of New England, that he had been in New England 48 years, “saw two or three Years, when he was absent in his native

Country.” It is evident that he sailed for England after the 16th of February, 1677, and if he returned by October, 1678, he was absent but about 16 or 18 Months.

jectured that he was stimulated to undertake it by the Friend of New England with whom he associated while in London. However this may have been, it is certain that in the Spring following his Return from England, his Work was finished, and laid before the General Court for its sanction, and aid, if it saw fit to grant them. The Action of the Court upon it, is dated the eleventh of June, 1679, and is thus expressed on its Records:—“This Court being informed that Mr. Wm. Hubbard hath taken Paynes in compiling a History of New England, doe order that our honored Governor [Simon Bradstreet] and William Stoughton, Esquier, Capt. Daniel Fisher,¹ Lieut. Wm. Johnson,² and Capt. Wm. Torrey,³ be a Committee to peruse the same, and make Return of their Opinion thereof to the next Session, that the Court may then, as they shall then judge meete, take order for the Impression thereof.”⁴ Here the Matter rested for about two Years, when, on the eleventh of October, 1682, it was again brought up, and the following Order was passed: “Whereas

¹ He belonged to Dedham, and died in 1683. His Son, of the same Name, was conspicuous the next Year for the resolute Part he took in the Revolution. See Hist. and Antiqs. Boston, 484.

² Son, I suppose, of Capt. Edward Johnson, Representative from Woburn.

³ A Man of superior Abilities and

attainments. He was from Weymouth. “He was a Person of such deep and extensive Views, that in Publick Affairs of great Difficulty, the Governor, Dep. Governor and Council of the Colony us’d to send to him, tho’ 15 miles off, to help them with his wise Observations and Advice.”—Prince, *Pref. to Torrey’s Brief Discourse*.

⁴ *Mass. Col. Records*.

it hath binn thought necessary, and a Duty incumbent vpon vs, to take due notice of all Occurrences and Passages of Gods Providence towards the People of this Jurisdiction since their first arrivall in these Parts, which may remajne to Posterity, and that the Reverend Willjam Hubbard hath taken Paynes to compile a History of this Nature, which the Court doeth with thankfulness acknowledge; and as a Manifestation thereof, doe hereby order the Treasurer to pay vnto him the Some of fiuety Pounds in Money, he transcribing it fairely into a Booke, that it may be the more easily perused, in order to the satisfaction of this Court.”¹

Probably, owing to the Poverty of the Treasury Department, the fifty Pounds was not paid; and a new Order was made on the 30th of March, 1683, which is thus expressed: “This Court hauing formerly granted fifty Pounds to y^e Reu. Mr. W^m Hubbard in Consideration of his Pajne in Collecting a History of the First Planting and Settling of this Colony, as in October last, for fifty Pounds, it is ordered, that the Treasurer pay him or his order halfe of the said Sume, as soone as Money comes into his Hands, and that the Debts due from

¹ In his Preface to the “History of New England,”—to be noticed onward,—he says he came here “about forty-eight Years since,” but there being no Date to the Preface, the Time is a little uncertain. It was, however, very likely written about

the Time the above Order was made, and accompanied the Copy of the History, “fairly transcribed into a Book.” Hence the Time of his emigration agrees with 1635, and not with 1632, as “*Transcriber*” says in *Mass. Hist. Colls.*

the Country be paid in Course they arise, due by this Court's Order."

The Work appears to have been copied and made ready for the Press; but whether the Author received anything we do not find. It is, however, certain that the General Court never published the Work, and it thus laid in Manuscript until the Year 1815, when another Movement was made for its publication. It was printed by the Massachusetts Historical Society, by the aid of Funds furnished by the Legislature. The Work can hardly be said to have been edited,¹ and it was printed on an inferior and coarse Paper, altogether unworthy of the Work. But poor as the Edition was, it became scarce in the course of about thirty Years, and the Society found itself under the necessity of republishing it. This was done in 1848, under the very able Editorship of Mr. William Thaddeus Harris, of Cambridge, and was in other respects respectably brought out. It forms two Volumes of the Historical Collections, making volumes fifth and sixth of its Second Series. Though divided into two Volumes the Work is continuously paged. A number of Copies of the first Edition were struck off for the Commonwealth, in Consideration of

¹ There is an able and excellent Preface to the Society's Edition, written by the Rev. Abiel Holmes, than whom, since the Days of the Rev. Thomas Prince, there has not

been a better Chronicler. Joseph McKean was associated with him, but Mr. Holmes evidently drew up the "Prefatory Notice," and made what few Emendations there are.

Funds advanced as before mentioned. Of the second Edition, a few were also separately printed.

In composing his History of New-England, Mr. Hubbard had Winthrop's Manuscript Journal, Governor Bradford's History of Plymouth Colony, and many other original Documents, some of which are not now probably in Existence, which much enhances the Value of the Work. The Fashion of writing History has greatly changed since the Days of Mr. Hubbard and his Contemporaries. In their Time it was not customary to give Authorities, or to be always Exact in Dates. Mr. Hubbard drew freely from his Documents, putting them into elegant and intelligible Language. Some Critics have accused him of appropriating Materials to his own Use without Acknowledgment, but the Accusation is an ill timed one, as ample Acknowledgment is found in his Preface.¹

During the year 1682, Mr. Hubbard delivered a Fast Sermon, and a Funeral Discourse on the Death of General Daniel Denison, pronounced "superior productions" by competent Judges. These were printed. The same Year he was called upon, with four other distinguished Gentlemen, to decide, as far as they could by their Recommendation, a Difficulty of a parochial Nature in Andover. The other Gentlemen were Daniel

¹ This was recently found, in Belknap, and has been printed by transcript, among the Papers of Dr. the Mass. Hist. Society.

Denison, Samuel Philips, John Richardson and Samuel Appleton—Mr. Hubbard's Name standing second among them. Mr. Hubbard was not of an impulsive or fanatical Temperament, but for the Times rather disposed to be tolerant, or as Hutchinson expresses it, "Catholic" in his Views. Hence he was selected and appointed to act in the Capacity of President of Harvard College, by Sir Edmund Andros, in 1688, Dr. Increase Mather being absent. And we learn from an Entry in Judge Sewall's Diary, that at that Commencement Mr. Hubbard "made an Oration, in which he compared Sir W^m. Phips to Jason bringing home the Golden Fleece."¹

During Mr. John Dunton's Residence in this Country, in the Course of his Travels he visited Ipswich. The next Day after his Arrival Mr. Hubbard called upon him, "hearing he had brought to Boston a great *Venture of Learning*, & afterwards took him to his House & gave him a very handsome Entertainment." Mr. Dunton at once appreciated the Character of our Author—observing, "he freely communicates his Learning to all who have the Happiness to share in his Converse. In a Word, he is learned without Ostentation and Vanity, and gives all his Productions such a delicate Turn and Grace (as is seen in his printed Sermons and History of the Indian Wars) that the Features and Lineaments of the

¹ Quincy's *Hist. Harvard Coll.* i, *Reg'r*, vi, 74. Mr. Mather failed 58, 59.—*N. Eng. Hist. & Gen.* for England, 7 April, 1688.

Child make a clear Discovery and Distinction of the Father ; yet he is a Man of singular Modesty, of strict Morals, and has done as much for the Conversion of the Indians, as most Men in New-England.”¹ This was the unbiaſed Judgment of a man qualified to form a correct Opinion of Men ; and adds Force to the Fact, that it often happens that thoſe who do the moſt Good in the World are the laſt to proclaim it.

There was written a Letter to Governor John Archdale of South Carolina, dated at Ipſwich on the 26th of June, 1696, reſpecting Emigrants from that Town to that Colony. It is an able Performance, and is attributed on internal Evidence to Mr. Hubbard. Three Years later he joined ſome others in a Reproof reſpecting a Declaration made by Brattle Street Church in Boſton : that Declaration being charged with being lax in ſome of its Ordinances. He was now far advanced in Years, and probably allowed the uſe of his Name in ſome Inſtances where no harm could ariſe from ſuch uſe. Two years after, 1701, in connection with the Rev. Mr. John Higginſon of Salem, Mr. Hubbard publiſhed a “Dying Teſtimony to the Order of the Churches.”

In the mean time he had aſſiſted Dr. Cotton Mather materially by furniſhing him with Facts for his Church Hiſtory. This is properly ac-

¹ *Life and Errors*, ii, 134.

known by Dr. Mather in his *Magnalia*, published in 1702.

On the second of August, 1702, there is a Record to the Effect, that through the Infirmities of Age he is unable to perform his duties as a Minister, and desires his People to provide him some Assistance; and on the sixth of the following May he retired from his ministerial Labors. His Circumstances were probably not affluent, and perhaps on the other extreme. However that may have been, his Society showed their good will towards him by making him a Present of sixty Pounds. The Historian of Ipswich says, and of all Men of this Generation he ought to be best informed on this Subject: "Though Mr. Hubbard had a large Patrimony, yet he expended this as well as his Salary in the Support of his Family, and in discharging the Duties of Hospitality and other Benefices."¹

If he had become a Burden to his Parish, which does not appear, he continued so but a brief Period after the Close of his Active labors, for his peaceful Days were suddenly terminated on the Night of September the 14th, 1704, at the Age of 83. The Event is noticed by Judge Sewall in his Diary, in these Words: "September 14th, 1704, Thursday, Mr. Hubbard of Ipswich goes to the Lecture, after to Col. Appleton's, goes Home, and dies that Night." Some time before his Death, the Meeting-house in which he preached having

¹ Felt, *History of Ipswich*, 231.

become old, it was sold for twenty Pounds.¹ His Society a few days after his Decease, voted thirty-two Pounds towards his funeral Charges, in which was included the twenty Pounds, the Proceeds of the Old Meeting-house.

Strange to say, no Monument of any kind marks the last Resting-place of this eminent Scholar, Historian and Divine! Nor does any one know even his Place of Sepulture!

His Residence was about one hundred Rods from the late Dr. Dana's Meeting-house, near the Bank of the River, commonly called Turkey Shore.² He was twice married. His first Wife was Margaret, only Daughter of the Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, and sister to the Rev. Dr. John Rogers, the fifth President of Harvard College. She is said to have been a Lady of many Virtues and excellent Reputation, but the Time of her Death is not known, and like her estimable Consort, probably rests without a Monument to denote her Place of Burial. Late in Life he married a second Time, Mary, Widow of Samuel Pearce, who was living in 1710. This Connection was said to have been displeasing to his People, from a Fancy that he had taken a Companion not socially his Equal, while, in other respects, she was allowed to be a worthy and virtuous Person.

¹ Jan. 16, 1701.—Heard Mr. Rogers preach the last Sermon in the Old Meeting-house before it was torn down. On the 19th of the same month, the first Sermon

was preached in the New Meeting-house.—Sewall's *Diary*.

² *Hist. Ipswich*, 231. It is lamentable there are no early Historical Discourses about Ipswich.

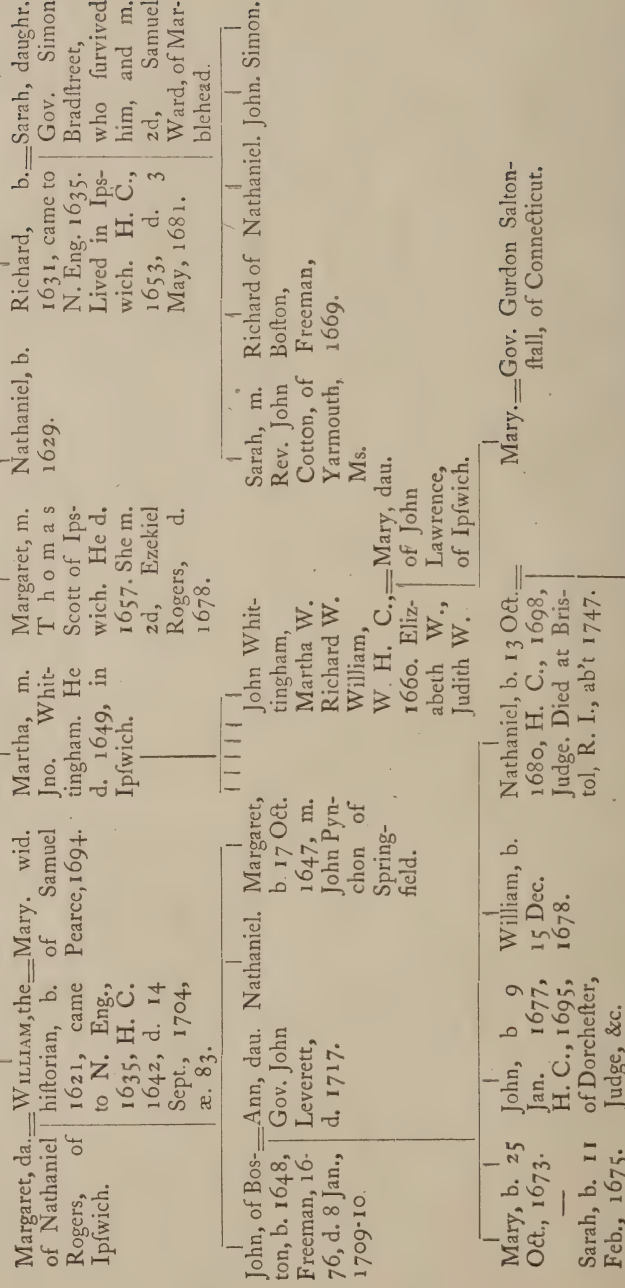
On reading the Works of Mr. Hubbard, every one must allow that Mr. Dunton rightly judged of the Character and Mind of that Author. Turn to his Dedication of the Indian Wars to the three Governors, and I am of the Opinion that it would be difficult at this day to find a finer Piece of Composition. His References to his Work is as modest as it is elegant, and so happily conceived, that I cannot avoid extracting the closing Part of it: "It carries nothing with it but Truth, (as I hope it will be found) which may well expect to meet with a ready Welcome, and suitable Entertainment in every honest Mind: but all Men are not so equally balanced in their Affections as to bear with Plain Dealing, and give that harmless Dove a resting Place in their Minds for the Sole of her Foot." England's great Poet was not more happy in his Estimate of the Composition of Man's Nature, expressed in these immortal Lines:

"Men must be taught as if you taught them not,
And Things unknown propos'd as Things forgot."

And it will readily be perceived, that the Philosophy which operated to produce in the Mind of the Historian the Sentiment expressed in the above Paragraph was the same which gave to our Literature the imperishable Verses of the Poet of Twickenham.

PEDIGREE OF HUBBARD.

William Hubbard, of Tending, Co. of Essex, settled in Ipswich,=Judith, of whom nothing further.
N E. 1635, removed to Boston, 1662, d. 1670, æ. 75.



Leverett, H. C., 1742, of N.=Ann, wid. of N. Pierce, &
Hampshire, Judge Sup. Court. dau. of — Jeffries.

A
N A R R A T I V E
OF THE TROUBLES WITH THE
I N D I A N S

In NEW-ENGLAND, from the first planting thereof in the year
1607. to this present year 1677. But chiefly of the late
Troubles in the two last years, 1675. and 1676.

To which is added a Discourse about the *Warre* with the

P E Q U O D S

In the year 1637.

By W. Hubbard, Minister of Ipswich.

*And the Lord said unto Moses, write this for a Memoriall in a Book, and rehearse it in
the ears of Joshua; for I will utterly put out the Remembrance of Amalek
from under heaven. Exod. 17 14.*

*Wherefore it is said in the book of the Warrs of the Lord, what he did in the red sea, and
in the Brooks of Arnon. Numb: 21 14.*

As cold waters to a thirsty soul, so is good news from a far Country. Prov 25. 25.

Expressa Imago, et quasi speculum quoddam vitæ humanæ est historia, quia talia
vel similia semper possunt in mundo accidere. *Thucyd.*

Historia tradit quæ facta sint, et quæ semper sint futura, donec eadem manet homi-
num natura *idem.*

Historiæ cognitio tutissima institutio, et præparatio est ad actiones politicas et illu-
stris Magistra ad perferendas fortunæ vices. *Polyb.*

Published by Authority.

B O S T O N ;

Printed by *John Foster*, in the year 1 6 7 7.

Notes to the next Page.

¹ The Work was probably already in print, for if the printing was not commenced before the "29th of March, 1677," the Time to print it and send a copy to London, and have it "Licenced" there on the following 27th of June, short of three Months, would be a dispatch nearly equal to what we could expect at this Day.

² Bradstreet, Denison and Dudley are Names too familiar to all Readers of New England History, to require any special Notice. For the Names as printed to the original Edition I have substituted fac-simile Autographs. It will be seen that Gen. Denison did not write his Name *Dennison*, as it is printed in the History of Ipswich, and in many other Works. The three Gentlemen were very nearly related. The Wife of Gov. Bradstreet was sister to Mr. Dudley, and was noted for her poetical Talents. Gen. Denison married Patience, another Sister.

³ It will be seen by a reference to

the Postscript, that the Author had not finished his Work as late as April of the Year of publication, and that it was licenced in England but about two Months after he is known to have been at work upon it.

⁴ A somewhat prominent Person during and after the Civil Wars. He suffered a long Imprisonment for the Course he took against his Country during Cromwell's Rule, and came very near losing his Head. His proper Character will be found in the Cyclopaedia of English Literature. He translated many Works, wrote Poetry, and published one of the first Newspapers in England, a Volume of which is before me. He was of an ancient Norfolk Family, and died on the 12th of Dec. 1704. The Puritans were no Favorites of his, which he discovered on various Occasions. They retaliated by anagrammatizing his Name, making it read *Lying Strange Roger*. He received the honor of Knighthood from James II. See *A Complete Hist. of Europe* for 1704, p. 592.



THE worthy Author of this Narrative (of whose Fidelity we are well assured) by his great Pains and Industry, in collecting and compiling the several Occurrences of this *Indian Warre*, from the Relations of such as were present in the particular Actions, hath faithfully and truly performed the same, as far as best Information agreeing could be obtained, which is therefore judged meet for publick View: and we whose names are underwritten, deputed by the Governour and Council of the Massachusetts Colony to peruse and license the same; have and do accordingly order it to be imprinted,¹ as being of publick Benefit, and judge the Author to have deserved due Acknowledgement and Thanks for the same.

Boston, March 29. 1677.

*Simon Bradstreet*²

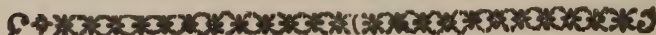
Daniel Denison

Dudley

Licensed,
June 27. 1677.³

Roger L'Estrange.⁴

(1, 2, 3, 4.) See Notes on recto of this leaf.



THE
Present State
OF
New-England,
BEING A
NARRATIVE
Of the Troubles with the
INDIANS
IN
NEW-ENGLAND, from the first planting
thereof in the year 1607, to this present year 1677:
But chiefly of the late Troubles in the two last
years 1675 and 1676.
To which is added a Discourse about the War
with the *PEQUODS* in the year 1637.

By *W. Hubbard* Minister of *Ipswich*.

And the Lord said unto Moses, Write this for a Memorial in a Book, and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua; for I will utterly put out the Remembrance of Amalek from under heaven, Exod. 17. 14.

L O N D O N:

Printed for *Tho. Parkhurst* at the *Bible* and *Three Crowns* in *Cheapside*,
near *Mercers-Chappel*, and at the *Bible* on *London-Bridge*. 1677.



*To the Honorable JOHN LEVERET Esq; Governour
of the Colony of Massachusetts; JOSIAH WINSLOW
Esq; Governour of the Colony of Plymouth; WIL-
LIAM LEET Esq; Governour of the Colony of Con-
necticut.*⁵

NOTWITHSTANDING the great and unvaluable Good that hath in all Ages of the World accrued to Mankind by order and Government; yet such is the depravedness of mans Nature, and Imperfection of his Knowledge, that it is well hard to find out, as difficult to maintain such a Form and Order of Government as will prove a sufficient Fence and security for so great a treasure as is the common Good, and publick Safety. After the sad and long experience of former Times, some have thought no Means can be found out so effectual for the upholding and preserving the same, with all the sacred and civil Rights and Privileges thereunto belonging, as a Liberty in this Case for People to design and chuse out from among themselves, the Persons that are to be intrusted with those great Concerns.⁶ What-

⁵ Full and ample Biographies of the Governors of the three Colonies will be found in Eliot & Allen's Dictionaries. Gov. Leet deserves the Gratitude of this and Ages to come for his Protection of the so called Regicides of Charles the I, and his stern Republicanism. See Stiles's *History of the Judges*, 92.

⁶ It was necessary, or the Historian thought it to be so then, to tread cautiously upon Republican Ground; nor is his Caution to be wondered at, when it is considered that the Author wrote 200 years before the Principles asserted by Cromwell and our Fathers were firmly established.

ever may be said for the extolling of the Happiness of them that have such an Advantage in their Hands, all that may be comprehended within the compass of such Power, it is for the present in the principal and leading part thereof devolved upon yourselves in all the three Colonies of New England; who by the choice of the free People in those your several Jurisdictions, are now called to act your several Parts as chief on the publick Stage of Government. Ever since you have taken your Turns at the Helm, there have been very boisterous Winds and rough Seas, threatening Shipwreck of all; which notwithstanding, you need [] not be discouraged, while due Consideration is had, to whom, and what you have embarked with you. When once the great *Roman Conqueror*, and chief Founder of their Monarchy, was passing the *Adriatick Sea* in disguise, the Pilot being dismayed with the fierceness of the Winds, the raging of the Waves, his Passenger pulled off his Disguise, and bid him be of good courage and not fear, for he carried *Cæsar*, and all his Fortunes:⁷ Surely *Jesus Christ* and all his Promises, in which you are not a little concerned, is a far better Ground of Comfort and Encouragement in a stormy Season. Luther was wont to say, or did once in a great exigent say, that he had rather *Ruere cum Christo quam stare cum Cæsar*; accounting *Christ* a better Friend, though falling as to the World, to

⁷ This apt illustration will be found in *Plutarch's Lives*, vol. iv, 460-1, Edition 1685, "translated by several Hands."

trust to, than *Cæsar* standing in Power, according to the Word of Christ himself, *greater is he that is in you, than he that is in the World*; so as all such may say with the Prophet, *Rejoice not against me, O mine Enemy; for when I fall I shall rise; when I sit in Darknefs, the Lord shall be a Light unto me*; which I trust yourselves have had so much Experience of, in these late dark Dispensations, that if sometimes you have not seen, yet always you have believed that *Light was sown for the Righteous*, and that there shall be a clear breaking forth of the Sun, after the Tempest is over: what God hath planted shall not by Man, or any of Satans Instruments be plucked up. It is with young Colonies as it is with Trees newly planted; which those Winds as one saith, that are not so boisterous as to blow down, do so far Advantage as to shake them to a greater Fastness at the Root.⁸ The Sovereign Ruler of the World doth by such Ways and Means bring about his Peoples Good, at the first, not well understood, nor easily brooked, till the quiet Fruit of Righteousness be discerned to spring up unto all such as are exercised therein. It hath been no small Advantage that the Staff of Government, and the Shields of this Part of the Earth were put into your Hands.⁹ (Before the Boar out

⁸ Reflecting upon the terrible Storm which has been desolating our Country for nearly four Years, an Observer will comprehend the full Force of the Comparison drawn in the Text. And if by this volcanic Eruption from the Bowels of Dark-

ness we do not emerge a better and stronger People, we may truly “dispair of the Republic,” as we shall destroy the Hope of the Enlightened throughout the World.

⁹ Mr. Leet was not Governor

of the Wood hath broke into the Breach, and the Restorers of Paths to dwell in, while both yourselves, and those under your Charge and Conduct, are looking unto him, who is promised to be the Peace of his People, when the Assyrian shall come into their Land.

The consideration of the Power wherewith you are invested, together with the great Wisdom, Faithfulness and Courage by which it hath been managed by you, in your several Stations, hath induced me to desire that the Historical Discourse ensuing might pass into publick View under the Umbrage of your Protection. If a Reason be demanded for the [] entitling so many Names of worth to the Patronage of so small and inconsiderable a Volume; I need no other Apology at this time, than I find in the Words of the Wise Man; there are Cases wherein *two are better than one, and a three-fold cord is not easily broken*:¹⁰ For it being like to pass through your several Jurisdictions, I conceived it might need a Passport of safe conduct from him that doth preside in either of them. It carries nothing with it but Truth (as I hope will be found) which may well expect to meet with a ready Welcom, and suitable Entertainment in every honest Mind; but all men are

of Connecticut when the War began, but was elected in 1676, after the death of Mr. John Winthrop.

¹⁰ The Indian Chief, Hendrick, beautifully illustrated this ancient

Proverb, when he was ordered by Gen. Johnson to lead an advance against the French and Indians under Gen. Dieskau. See Holmes's *American Annals*, vol. II, page 64, and *Book of the Indians*, 536.

not so equally balanced in their Affections as to bear with plain dealing, and give that harmless Dove a resting Place in their Minds for the sole of her Foot. Of all Writings those that are historical, specially while the things mentioned are fresh in Memory, and the Actors themselves surviving, had need be perused with a wary Pace. Notwithstanding the great Care that hath been taken to give all and every one, any way concerned in the Subject of the Discourse, their just due, and nothing more or less, yet perhaps some critical Reader will not let every Sentence pass without some censure or other. It was once by a great Man accounted no small Offence in an harmless Poet, that some of his Titles were misplaced as they were marshalled up in their order: If any Historian should commit an Error parallel thereunto, a Pardon, as it may be needed, in such a Script as is the present *Narrative*, so may it be the better expected, while passing up and down under the Guard of your Authority, yea though it should chance to be an Offence of an higher Nature; as the mistiming of some Passages, mistaking the Distance of some Places, or too often touching upon the same Particulars, which could not be well avoided in a Collection of so many Occurrents too hastily drawn up, though true; yet unseasonably, or out of due Time coming to light, without a total omission of some material Passages. It was intended at the first only as a private Essay, wherein to bind up together the

the most memorable Passages of divine Providence, during our late, or former Troubles with the *Indians*; it might have remained in the Place where it was first conceived and formed, or been smothered as an imperfect Embrio, not worthy to see the Light, if some such as yourselves had not both quickened the Being, and hastned the Birth thereof. Something of this Nature may be of use to Posterity, as well as to those of the present Generation, to help them both to call to their Mind, and carry along the Memory of such eminent Deliverances, and special Preservations granted by divine Favour to the People here; as it was of old commanded of God himself, that a Register should be kept of those Wars, which in opposition to others, were in a peculiar [] manner to be called The Wars of the Lord; and such as these here treated of, if any, since miraculous Deliverances have ceased, may truly be said to deserve that Title.¹¹ If it had fallen into some abler Hand, it might have been set forth with better choice of Words, and more fit Expressions, that might have left a deeper Impression on the Minds of those who are most concerned to retain it; however it being now likely to be brought to publick View, I have presumed to offer it to your-

¹¹ Mr. Hubbard was too much in advance of his Age to be a firm Believer in "Miraculous Deliverances;" hence he refers to the Subject very delicately. And we may reasonably conclude that his Endorsement of the Cases of Conscience was obtained under Circumstances unfavorable to a full Knowledge of their Import. See the New Edition of *Mather's Relation, Introduction*, p. xxii.

selves, as on the Accounts forementioned, so also as a testimony of my thankful and deserved acknowledgement of that Wisdom and Integrity abundantly shewn forth in the Administration of your Authority.

Much Honored and Honorable, I have nothing more to add, but the engagement of my continual and daily Prayers to the God of the Spirits of all flesh, that he would carry you through all Troubles, Difficulties and Trials you may be conflicting with, whether personal or political; and that he would bless your Councils at Home; prosper your Enterprizes abroad, and long continue your Lives in the present Generation, for his own Glory and his peoples Good; that after you have served your Generation here, your Memory like that of the just, may be blessed, and that you may have Peace as the Inheritance of the remaining Israel of God in these Ends of the Earth: which is, and shall be the earnest wish, and constant desire of

Your most humble and

Devoted Servant,

From my Study,

16th, 12. 1676.¹²

William Hubbard

¹² It should be remembered, that Year. Hence the above date, according to our present usage, is February was the last month of the February 16th, 1677,



An Advertisement to the
R E A D E R .

THE following historical Essay, was, when first drawn up, intended only for the Satisfaction of a private Friend, and not for the Use of the Publick; therefore hope I may be excused, if I fall short therein of that Exactness, which might be expected from one that designedly undertook a Work of this Nature: however trusting more to the Judgment of some who have accidentally had the Perusal thereof, than mine own, I am not unwilling that others should receive Benefit thereby. The Compiler of an History can challenge little to himself but methodizing the Work, the Materials being found ready to his Hand; Diligence in gathering them together, and Faithfulness in improving them, is all that is upon point required of him; in both which I have endeavoured to make good what the Profession I have now taken up obliges me unto. The Matter of Fact therein related (being rather Massacres, barbarous inhumane Outrages, than Acts of Hostility, or valiant Atchievements) no more deserve the Name of a War than the Report of them the Title of an History,¹³ therefore I contented myself

¹³ This may refer to Dr. I. Mather's Brief History of Philip's War, in which he speaks of the small numbers of Men sent against the Indians from time to time as Armies, but he gives good Authority for its Use. See *Hist. King Philip's War*, 166, 211.

with a Narrative. Much of what is therein mentioned, depending on the single Authority of particular Persons, an exact Description of every Occurrent was hardly to be obtained: All Soldiers are not like Cæsar, able to describe with their Pens, what they have done with their Swords: But the most material Passages inserted, were either gathered out of the Letters, or taken from the Mouths of such as were eye or ear Witnesses of the things themselves; and those also Persons worthy of Credit. In such Passages as were variously reported by the Actors, or Spectators, that which seemed most probable is only inserted. If any Errour be committed about the Scituation or Distance of Places, it may deserve an Excuse rather than a Censure: For our Soldiers in the Pursuit of their Enemies being drawn into many desert Places, inaccessible Woods, and unknown Paths, which no Geographer's Hand ever measured, scarce any Vultures Eye had ever seen, there was a Necessity to take up many Things in Reference thereunto upon no better Credit sometimes than common Report. One or two Passages need a more particular Excuse, or at least Explication: As where it is said, p. 2, That the first Colony was sent hither Anno 1605, The Mistake is easily helped, by minding the Reader that the Patent or Commission was that Year granted, when also Capt. Henry Challons was sent over upon some further Discovery of the Country, before the Adventurers [] would hazard a greater Charge: Soon after the Departure of the said Challons the same Year Sir John Popham, one of the principal Vndertakers, sent out

another Ship to second him under the Command of Capt. Haman, Martin Prin of Bristow¹⁴ being Master, who not finding Challons (for he miscarried in his Design, being seized by some Strangers in the way) yet returning with good News, the next Year they sent out two Ships with an hundred Men, with Ordnance and other Provision, under the Conduct of Capt. George Popham, and Capt. Rawley Gilbert, who built a Fort in some place about Sa-ga-de-hoch, called St. Georges Fort, the Ruines of which are remaining to this Day, as some say. Probably other like Mistakes may be observed, in describing the Bounds and Dimensions of some of the Patents, and Grants of Land belonging to the other Colonies ; but an Historian being no Pretorian Judg, his Report cannot prejudice any peoples Jurisdiction, or persons Propriety.

Further also where it is said p. 7, That the Indians had lived peaceably with the English here near forty Years, ever since the Pequod War ; it is to be understood with reference to publick Acts of Hostility ; for particular Mischiefs have been committed by several Indians in some parts of the Country, but the Actors were not abetted therein by any of their Country men :¹⁵ As at Nantucket, an Island to the Eastward of Cape Cod, when in the End of the Year

¹⁴ Bristol. In early Times written as above, but not often as late as our Author's Time. In Hakluyt's Voyages it is always Bristow, so far as I remember. Prin's name is written with variation, as Prinn, Pring, &c.

¹⁵ It would not be difficult to enumerate many cases of the kind here referred to. Some will be found detailed in the *Book of the Indians*. The Author again refers to the Subject of "private Murders," as will be seen onward.

1664, some Villanous Indians murthured some that suffered Shipwreck upon that Island, yet Justice was done upon two or three of the chief Actors.¹⁶ In like Manner within a few Years after the Pequod Wars, Mrs. Hutchinson¹⁷ was killed by the Indians near a Dutch Plantation; about which time some other Insolencies of like Nature were acted by the Indians Southward, either upon Long-Island, or in some Place within New-haven Colony. Also a Murther was committed at Farmington,¹⁸ another at Woburn,¹⁹ by some Indians in their drunken Humour, upon a Maid-servant or two, who denied them Drink. All which hinder not the Truth of what is affirmed in the Narrative, such Murthers being too frequently committed in the most peaceable Places in the World. Such Errours as are the forementioned, being overlooked by the Candid Reader, it is presumed there will not be many other Faults to be complained of, unless

¹⁶ There is a History of Nantucket, and one might reasonably expect to find in it something explanatory of this Affair. But there is nothing. The Author evidently thought a History of Whales and how to catch them of more importance than what concerned the Indians.

¹⁷ The melancholy Fate of that unfortunate Lady and her Family appears to have been early known in Massachusetts, while the full particulars of it have but recently appeared. These lay locked up in the Dutch Records, in the form of

Depositions, but have within a few Months been translated and published by Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan, of Albany, to whom we are in other Respects much indebted.

¹⁸ The Murder and Arson at Farmington was a far more horrid Affair than the casual Notice in the Text would lead us to suppose. For the Particulars see Porter's *Hist. Farmington*, 31, and *Col. Rec. Ct.*, i, 294.

¹⁹ See the *Old Indian Chronicle*, 136-7, and *Book of the Indians*, 698-9.

such as are merely Typographical; or else were occasioned by the dropping in of particular Passages, after the whole was drawn up, which I was willing to insert, although it occasioned the Discourse in some Places to be a little more confused than else would have been. If ever the Matter require another Edition, more accurateness may be observed. If those into whose Hands these shall happen to come, find any Satisfaction about the Occurents that have here fallen out, the Publisher shall account his Pains well bestowed.



*To the Rev^{end} Mr. William Hubbard on his
most exact History of New-Englands
Troubles.*

When thy rare Piece unto my View once came,
It made my Muse that erst did smoke, to flame :
Raising my Fancy so sublime, that I
That famous forked Mountain did espy ;
Thence in an Extacie I softly fell
Down near unto the *Helliconian* Well ;
Where Poetry, in Prose, made I did see
By a *Mercurian* Brain, which sure was Thee ;
Such is thy modest Stile, enriched with Sence,
Invention fine, faced with Eloquence :
Thy florid Language quaintly doth expresse
The Truth of Matter in a comely dresse ;
Couching the Sence in such a pleasing Strain
As Makes the Readers Heart to leap again :
And sweetly draws him like those Lotteries
Which never miss but always win the Prize.
But whither roves my Muse ? What can be done
By'm that augments the Sea, or lights the Sun ?
Go on brave Worthy, and let these *Essaies*,
Like fair *Aurora* usher in the Raies
Of a Refulgent Sun arising clear,
Hence to illuminate our Hemisphere ;
That th'after Ages may extol the High-One
For's Loving Kindness to our little Sion :
And may our Senatours with due Regard,
These and thy future Labours all reward ;
Though not in full, yet such Encouragement

As may in them be just, to thee content ;
 For th' present Age, and those that shall ensue,
 Will be perpetual Debtors unto you.
 Fame shall with Honour crown thee ; and we'll raise
 Thy lasting Monument in Groves of Bays.
 Heaven blefs thee in thy Work, and may Success
 Attend thee here, hereafter, Happiness.

J. S.²⁰

²⁰ I am not aware of any positive Evidence for whom these Initials stand. Once, in a Conversation with Mr. John Farmer, that Antiquary expressed the Opinion that they stood for John Sherman, a very noted and learned Puritan of the Time of our Author, and Inhabitant of Watertown. If the Conjecture be correct, it proves that a great Mathematician did sometimes try to write Poetry. Judge John Davis supposed that the Lines on Mitchell in Morton's Memorial also stand for the same Person. It may be so, but Verses more unlike it would be difficult to find. John Sherman is accounted the Ancestor of the distinguished Roger Sherman of Con-

necticut, a Signer of the Declaration of Independence, Senator of the United States, &c. It may be found that the present Gen. Sherman is also a Descendant. One of the most amusing and characteristic Articles on John Sherman will be found in Savage's *Dictionary*. That "Volcanic" Genealogist riots in the terrible Havoc he makes in his repeated onslaughts upon poor non-resistant Cotton Mather. Even after there seems to be nothing left of his unfortunate *Enemy*, he returns to the Charge with renewed Vigor and newer and heavier Ordnance. After which, like his great Prototype, he must have wept for other fields of Conquest.



Upon the elaborate Survey of New-Englands Passions from the Natives, By the impartial Pen of that Worthy Divine Mr. William Hubbard.

A Countries Thanks with Garlands ready lye
To wreath the Brows of your Divinity,
Renowned Sir : to Write the Churches War
In ancient times, fell to the Prophets share.
New-Englands Chronicles are to be had
From *Nathans* Pen, or Manuscript of *Gad*.
*Purchase*²¹ wrote much, *Hacluyt*²² traversed far,
Smith and *Dutch John de Laet*²³ famous are :
*Martyr*²⁴ with learn'd *Acosta*²⁵ thousands too,

²¹ Purchas, it is believed, never added an *e* to his Name. At least he did not when he published his *Pilgrimage* in 1613, his *Pilgrimes* in 1624, or his *Theatre of Politicall Flying Insects* in 1657."

²² Should be written *Hakluyt*. I have seen several original Letters of his, all signed as printed to his Works.

²³ A brief Note on "Dutch John de Laet" will be found in the new Edition of *Matther's Relation*, p. 42.

²⁴ Peter Martyr, a Native of *Angleria*, was contemporary with Columbus, and was probably stim-

ulated by his Discoveries to connect his Name with them as their Historian. His principal Work, or that by which he is best known to us, is that entitled *Decades of the New World*. It was written in Latin, translated by Michael Lok, and published by Richard Hakluyt, in small quarto, black letter, 1612. It was reprinted in the Supplemental Volume of Hakluyt's *Voyages*, 1812, 4to.

²⁵ Joseph Acosta, a Peruvian Jesuit, was born at Medina-del-Carpo, died at Salamanca in 1600, aged about 60. He wrote the *Natural and Moral History of the West Indies*, published in Spanish, in 1591, in French, 1600, and in English, in a neat small 4to, 1604.

Here's Novelties and Stile which all out-do,
 Wrote by exacter Hand than ever took
 Historians Pen since *Europe* we forfook.
 I took your Muse for old *Columbus* Ghost,
 Who scrap'd acquaintance with this Western Coast.
 But in converse some Pages I might find,
 Than all *Columbus* Gemms, a brighter Mind.
 Former Adventurers did at best beguile,
 About these Natives Rife (obscure as *Nile*)
 Their grand Apostle writes of their Return;
*William's*²⁶ their Language; *Hubbard* how they burn,
 Rob, Kill and Roast, Lead Captive, Slay, Blaspheme;
 Of *English* Valour too he makes his Theme,
 Whose Tragical Account may Christened be,
New-Englands Travels through the Bloody Sea.
*Drake*²⁷ gat renown by creeping round the Old;
 To Treat of this New World our Author's bold.
 Names uncouth which ne'r *Minshew*²⁸ could reduce

²⁶ Roger Williams. Of this remarkable Man several Volumes of Biography have been written. Dr. Romeo Elton has the honor of being the Discoverer of his Place of Nativity and Parentage. His Life by the Rev. J. D. Knowles is little more than a valuable Collection of Materials, while the Volume by Prof. Gammel is a well arranged and systematic Biography. A shallow Attempt was made several years ago to circulate an old Portrait of Dr. Franklin as a copy of a newly discovered Painting of the Founder of Rhode-Island. The Trick was detected and exposed at the time by the Editor.

²⁷ Of the First great English

Circumnavigator, there is not, to this day, a Biography at all worthy of the Subject. The Editor has for many years intended to prepare a Work on the Life and Times of the Admiral, and has an Amount of Materials for the Work, from unpublished Sources, of extraordinary Value, collected in the British Archives, during a Residence in England. He yet hopes to carry out his Design.

²⁸ We look in vain into the ordinary Biographical Dictionaries for a Notice of the Man, who early in the seventeenth Century compiled a Lexicon in nine Languages, and which was published in London in 1617, in folio. A second Edition

By's *Polyglotton* to the vulgar Use.
 Unheard of Places, like some *New-Atlantis* :
 Before in Fancy only, now *Newlandis* :
 New-found and subtile Stratagems of War,
 We can quaint *Elton*²⁹ and brave *Bariffe*³⁰ spare :
 New Discipline and Charges of Command
 Are cloath'd in *Indian* by this English Hand.
*Moxon*³¹ who drew two Globes, or whoſoere,

was iſſued in 1625. In 1623, he enlarged Richard Percivale's *Spaniſh and Engliſh Dictionary*, a folio. Alſo in the ſame Year he publiſhed an augmented Edition of the ſame Author's *Grammar*. Of the Birth-place or Time of Demiſe of John Miſhew we are ignorant.

²⁹ All I can learn of this Individual is, that he was Lieut. Col. Richard Elton, and that, in 1650, he publiſhed *A Compleate Body of the Military Arts and Gunnery*, in a ſtately Folio Volume.

³⁰ Lieut. Col. William Barriſſe publiſhed his fourth Edition *Militarie Discipline: Or the Young Artillery-Man*, in 1643, 4to., accompanied by his *Vera Effigies*. On this Picture he ſays he is "Ætatis ſvæ 42." Whether this "Effigies" accompanied the earlier Editions with the ſame Inſcription (as is often the Caſe with Engravings of our Times) is not known. The firſt Edition was publiſhed in 1639. The Work is dedicated, in the pompous Stile of that Day, "To the Right Honourable Algernon, Earl of Northum-

berland," and "To the Right Worſhipfull, Sir Ralph Boſvile, Knight," not forgetting "All the Worthy Collonels; Lieutenant Colonels, Majors, and Captaines of the City of London. Eſpecially unto thoſe that are and continue Members of the Artillery-Garden." At this Time the "Right Worſhipfull Phillip Skippon, Eſq.," was "Sergeant Major General of all the Forces of London, and Captain of that Ancient and Worthy Society exerciſing Armes in the Artillery-Garden." It is worthy of note that the celebrated Owen Rowe was then an Officer in the "Garden."—See *Hiſt. and Antiqs., Boſton*, 193-4.

³¹ Joſeph Moxon, an Engliſh Mathematician and Aſtronomer, was a native of Wakefield, born 8 Auguſt, 1627. His Globes were an Improvement over preceding ones. His work on *Aſtronomy and the Uſe of the Globes*, is dedicated to the "Right Honourable, Roger, Earl of Caſtlemain," to whom he accords the "Moſt Excellent Invention of the Engliſh Globe." In his Preface he ſays

Must make a third, or else the old ones tear,
To find a Room for thy new Map, by which
Thy Friends and Country all thou dost enrich.

Gratitudinis ergo apposit.

B. T.³²

“California is found to be an Island, though formerly supposed to be a part of the Main Continent.” The fourth Edition of his Work is now before me, printed in 1686, in quarto, accompanied by the Author’s Portrait. He died about 1700.

³² I believe it has never been questioned that those Initials stand

for the distinguished Mathematician, Poet and Schoolmaster, Benjamin Tompson. He was a son of the Rev. William Tompson of Braintree, born 14 July, 1642, died 13 April, 1714; was a Graduate of H. C., 1662. A Pedigree of the Family will be seen in the *N. E. Hist. Gen. Register*, xv, 112-116.—

See also Duyckinck’s *Cyclopædia of American Literature*.



[1] A
 NARRATIVE
 OF THE
 TROUBLES
 WITH THE
 INDIANS
 IN
 NEW-ENGLAND,

From the first Planting thereof to the present Time.



KNOWN unto God are all his Works from the Foundation of the World, though manifest to us only by the Events of Time, that fruitful Mother of all Things, which in the former Age did bring forth, at least did bring to Light the Knowledge of this Western World, called *America*,³³ that in all foregoing Times and Ages, lay hid

³³ That a few Words from the brilliant Pen of our Author upon Columbus, would have been highly valued at this Day, no one will ques-

tion. It is doubtful if the Robertsons and Irvings would have been more eloquent, or those in any other Language.

in this obscure and remote Region, covered with a Vail of Ignorance, and locked up from the Knowledg of all the rest of the Inhabitants of the Earth.³⁴ To whom the Honour of its Investigation doth of Right more properly belong, is sufficiently declared by the History and Reports of such as were Eye-witnesses thereof, and not intended to be any Part of the present Disquisition. The most considerable Part of all the north Side of *America* is called *New-England*.³⁵ In the fertility of the Soil, salubriousness of the Air, and many other commodious Advantages, most resembling the Country from whence it borrowed its Appellation. For the Knowledg thereof the World is most beholding to the Discoveries of the *English* under the Conduct of *Sebastian Cabbot* a famous *Porteguez*.³⁶ [2] about the year 1497: though since much perfected by the Industry and

³⁴ If the Author had ever heard any of the Stories of the Discoveries of the Northmen along our Coast, and of their building Stone Mills on Rhode Island, scratching uncouth Figures on a Rock in Dighton River or elsewhere, he does not seem to have deemed them worthy of Notice.

³⁵ Capt. John Smith tells us how the Country became to be so named. See his *Description of N. England*, in his *Generall Historie*, ii, 179.

³⁶ The real birth-place of Sebastian Cabot, was for a long time in doubt. It is now well settled that

he was born in Bristol, England. His father, John Cabot, was a Venetian, who settled in Bristol in the time of Edward the Fourth, and was a Merchant of great Enterprize. In 1497, he undertook a Voyage of Discovery towards the West, and was the first to see the Continent of North America. Sebastian accompanied his Father in this Voyage, and afterwards made several other Voyages to America himself, ranging far along the Coast. According to the Statement of his Age at the Time of his Death in 1557, he was born in the year 1477. See *Dobble's Life of Cabot*.

travels of Captain *Gosnold*, Captain *Hudson*,³⁷ Captain *Smith*,³⁸ and others of the *English Nation*. *North America*, this posthumous Birth of Time, is as to its Nativity, of the same Standing with her two elder Sisters, *Peru* and *Mexico*; yet was suffered to lie in its Swadling-cloaths one whole Century of Years.³⁹ Nature having promised no such Dowry of rich Mines of Silver and Gold to them that would espouse her for their own, as she did unto the other two, which possibly was the Reason why she was not so hastily deflowered by her first Discoverers, nor yet so early courted by any of the Princes of *Europe*, lying wholly neglected as it were, untill a small Company of Planters, under the command of Captain *George Popham*, and Captain *Gilbert*, were sent over at the Charge of Sir *John Popham* in the year 1606,⁴⁰ to begin a Colony upon a Tract of Land about *Saga de hoch*,⁴¹

³⁷ Henry Hudson was one of those enterprising English Navigators whom the Achievements of Drake had stimulated to emulate his Glory. After exploring the great Northern Sea bearing his Name, he failed in the Service of the Dutch, and discovered the noble River justly named for him, though now oftener called the North River. There is a Portrait, said to be of him, in the City Hall, New York.

³⁸ The Discoveries and Adventures of Capt. John Smith are too well known to require special Notice here.

³⁹ From the Discovery by Co-

lumbus in 1492, to the coming of Gosnold in 1602, are 110 Years. For some new Investigations respecting Gosnold's Voyage, and the Point on the Coast at which he arrived, see *Hist. and Antiqs. of Boston*, 12.

⁴⁰ Some Explanation regarding this Date will be found in the Author's Preface.

⁴¹ Now *Sagadahock*. Respecting the Colony attempted to be established there, the Reader will find much Information in the *Memorial Volume of the Popham Celebration*, published in 1863.

fcituate on the south-side of the River of *Kenni-beck*, and about that called *Shipscot River*, about twenty Miles south-west from *Pemmaquid*, the most northerly Bound of all *New-England*.⁴² But that design within two years expiring with its first Founder; soon after some honorable persons of the west of *England*, commonly called the *Council of Plimouth*, being more certainly informed of several navigable Rivers, and commodious Havens, with other Places fit either for Traffick or Planting, newly discovered by many skilful Navigators, obtained a Grant by Patent, under the great Seal from King *James* of blessed Memory, of all that Part of *North America*, called *New England*, from the 40 to the 48 gr. of North Latitude. From which grand and original Patent, all other Charters and Grants of Land from *Pemmaquid* to *Delaware Bay*, along the Sea-coast, derive their Leinage and Pedigree. Thus was that vast Tract of Land, after the year 1612. cantoned and parceled out into many lesser Divisions and Parcels, according as Adventurers presented;⁴³ which said Grants being founded upon uncertain, or false Descriptions, and Reports of some that travelled

⁴² The French claimed all north-easterly of *Pemmaquid*, and all the inland Country from the *Penobscot* to the Spanish Possessions in the south-west, saving a narrow Strip on the Sea-coast, actually possessed by the English, and that at best, was disputed Territory, both Nations claiming it by Right of prior Dis-

covery. See Sanfon's *Geography*, as published by Richard Blome, 1680, p. 429.

⁴³ A Map, made in 1625, with the Names of the Proprietors thereon, illustrates this Passage. Copies of it accompany the *Founders of New England*.

thither, did many of them interfere one upon another, to the great Disturbance of the first Planters, and prejudice of the Proprietors themselves, as is too well known by any that have had Occasion to stay never so little amongst them, many of whom are yet surviving. For notwithstanding the great Charge and vast Expenses the first Adventurers were at, the first Proprietors of the whole *Province of Mayne*⁴⁴ and others (reaching from the Head of *Casco Bay* North-east to the Mouth of *Pascataqua River* about sixty Miles westward) and the Hopes they might have conceived of being the first Founders of *New Colonies*, and of enlarging their Estates and Inheritances by these new acquired Possessions and Lordships, there was little Profit reaped from [3] thence after the rich Fleeces of Beaver were gleaned away, nor any great Improvement made of those large Portions of Lands, save the erecting of some few Cottages for Fishermen, and a few inconsiderable Buildings for the Planters, which were on those Occasions drawn over the Sea, to settle upon the most northerly Parts of *New-England*.

But whether it were by the Imprudence of the first Adventurers, or the Dissoluteness of the Persons they sent over to manage their Affairs, or

⁴⁴ So called, "by way of a Compliment to the Queen of Charles I, who owned, as her private Estate, the Province of Meyne, in France, now called the Province of Maine." Sullivan's *Hist. Maine*, 307. The

Wife of Charles was Henrietta, a Daughter of Henry IV, of France. It was first called *Maine* in the Charter or Grant of that Part of New-England to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, dated April 3, 1639.

whither want of Faithfullness or Skill to manage their Trust, they were by Degrees in a manner quite destitute almost of Laws and Government, and left to shift for themselves, by which Means at last they fell under the Jurisdiction of the *Massachusetts-Colony*, not by Usurpation, as is by great Mistake suggested to his *Majesty*, but by Necessity, and the earnest Desire of the Planters themselves;⁴⁵ to accept of whom, those of the *Massachusetts Colony* were the most easily induced, in that they apprehended the Bounds of their own Patent, by a favorable Interpretation of the Words describing the northern Line (three Miles beyond the most northerly Branch of *Merimack River*) do reach somewhat beyond *Pemmaquid*, the most northerly Place of all *New England*.⁴⁶

This was the first Beginning of Things in *New England*, at which Time they were not unlike the Times of old, when the People of *Judab* were said to be without a teaching Priest, and without Law; and no wonder Things were no more successfully carried on.

In the Year 1620, a Company belonging to Mr. *Robinsons* Church at *Leyden* in *Holland*, although they had been courteously entertained by the *Dutch*, as Strangers sojourning amongst them, yet foreseeing many Inconveniencies like to increase,

⁴⁵ The Troubles alluded to here are pretty fully discussed in Belknap's *History of New Hampshire*, and in other Works on our early History.

⁴⁶ That indeed was a Flight of Imagination similar to what possessed the southern Slave-owners, which hurried them to their own Destruction.

and that they could not so well provide for the Good of their Posterity under the Government of a forreign Nation: they resolved to intreat so much Favour from their own Sovereign Prince, King *James*, to grant them Liberty under the Shelter of his Royal Authority, to place themselves in some Part of *New-England*, and [then] newly discovered;⁴⁷ therefore having obtained some Kind of Patent or Grant, for some Place about *Hudson's River*, they set sail from *Plymouth* in September⁴⁸ for the southern Parts of *New England*; but as they intended to bend their Course thitherward, *per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum*; they were at last cast upon a Bosom of the South Cape of the *Massachusetts Bay*, called *Cape Cod*, about the 11th of *November*,⁴⁹ from whence the Winter so fast approaching, they had no Opportunity to remove; and finding some Incouragement from the Hopefulness of the Soil, and Courtesie⁵⁰ of the Heathen, they resolved

⁴⁷ All that could be obtained of the bigotted and superstitious *James*, amounted only to an equivocal Promise of Connivance; or, in other Words, that he would not molest them in their Religion unless he saw fit at any Time to change his Mind. By a most extraordinary Piece of Jugglery he had been made to succeed *Elizabeth*, to the great Misfortune of the Protestant World. See *Memoirs* of Robert Carey, Earl of Monmouth, 139-140.

⁴⁸ Plymouth, in Devonshire. They sailed thence Sept. 6th, 1620.

⁴⁹ They made the Land of the Cape, Nov. 9th. On the 11th they signed the memorable Compact, or Constitution, on board the Mayflower, and just one Month later the whole Company were ready to leave the Ship, which is the Day since celebrated as FORE-FATHERS' DAY, or the Day of the *LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS*.

⁵⁰ The Indians avoided all Intercourse with them for nearly three Months; meantime giving several unmistakable Intimations of their Hostility. But on the 16th of March,

there to make their Abode for the Future, which they did, laying the Foundation for a new Col [4] ony, which from the Remembrance of the last Town in *England* they sailed from, they called *New-Plimouth*, containing no very considerable Tract of Land, scarce extending an hundred Miles in Length through the whole Cape, and scarce half so much in Breadth where it is broadest. The first Founders of that Colony aiming more at Religion than earthly Possessions, aspiring not to any large Dimensions of Land, in their settling upon those Coasts.⁵¹

At *Weymouth* also was a Plantation begun by Mr. Weston in the Year 1622, but it came to

1621, an Indian named *Samoset*, came fearlessly into Plymouth, welcoming the People in their own Language. This Indian had lived with the English and had learned so much of their Tongue as enabled him to be understood by them. See Mather's *Relation*, 68.

⁵¹ Information concerning the Settlement of Plymouth in our Author's Time was scanty and general. Nathaniel Morton had printed his *N. England's Memorial* eight Years before, and several Tracts of great Value had been published in England, written by the Pilgrims themselves; but if Mr. Hubbard possessed these, they were not required in his present Purpose. The History of Plymouth is yet to be written, and I am happy to be able to state,

that such a Work is in the Hands of the Rev. *Henry M Dexter*, who brings to the Task all the requisite Ability and Industry, necessary to its successful Accomplishment.

Every Item of Information relative to the Pilgrims is of intense Interest to thousands, and it is to be hoped that English Local Historians will ere long recognize the Importance of Investigations respecting those who have left their Shores for this Hemisphere. This Remark is elicited by a Passage in a recent Work—*The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Blyth*; which includes AUSTERFIELD, where Gov. Bradford was born. On its Baptismal Register, the Author (the Rev. John Raines) finds that of William Bradford, "March 19, 1589."

little.⁵² The North and South Border of *Massachusetts Bay* being thus planted, the middle Part was the more easie to be filled up, which thus was brought about. Some Gentlemen and others, observing how it fared with those of *New-Plimouth*, were desiring upon the like Ground to make the same Attempt for themselves; wherefore having by a considerable Sum of Money purchased of some Gentlemen that had a Grant of the Council of Plymouth, all their Right and Interest in a Plantation then begun in the *Massachusetts Bay*; and having attained a Confirmation thereof by Patent from King *Charles* of famous Memory, in the Year 1628, they sent over a Governour⁵³ with several Persons to lay some Foundation of another Colony in the *Musachusetts Bay*: and in the Year 1630, more of the Persons interested in the said *Patent* (thence commonly called Patentees) with several other Persons, intending to venture their Lives and all with them, transported themselves and their Families into the said *Massachusetts*, who did in a short Space of Time by the Accession of many hundreds, who every Year flocked after them, make such Increase, that in the Space of five or six Years, there were twenty considerable Towns built and peopled, and many of the Towns first planted, became filled with Inhabitants, that like

⁵² In the *History and Antiquities of Boston*, I have given all I could find relative to the Origin and Termination of Mr. Weston's unfortu-

nate Enterprize.

⁵³ John Endicott, whom some have pretended was not Governor at this Period!

Swarms of Bees they were ready to swarm, not only into new Plantations, but into new Colonies: infomuch that in the Year 1635, a new Colony began to be planted upon *Connecticut River*, partly by the Interest of a Patent purchased of that honourable Gentleman Mr. *Fennick*,⁵⁴ Agent for the Lord *Sey*⁵⁵ and Lord *Brook*,⁵⁶ the Lord Proprietors of the said River *Connecticut*; at the Mouth of which they had built a Fort (called after their own Titles *Sey Brook Fort*) commanding the Passage of the said River. Yea such was the Confluence of People making over into those Parts, that in the Year 1638, a fourth Colony began to be planted, bearing the Name of *Newhaven* from the first Town erected therein, seated near the Midway betwixt *Hudsons River* and that of *Connecticut*. The Sea coast from [5] the Pitch of *Cape Cod* to the Mouth of *Connecticut River*, inhabited by several Nations of *Indians*, *Wompanoogs* (the first Authors of the present Rebellion) *Nar-baganfits*, *Pequods*, *Mohegins*, as the more inland

⁵⁴ George Fenwick. He came to New England in 1636, and began the Settlement at the Mouth of the *Connecticut*, which he named *Say Brook*. He died in 1657. His Wife was buried there, and an elaborate Monument with an Inscription upon it was erected to her Memory, but the Inscription was illegible long since. Dr. Stiles saw it in 1793, Dr. Dwight in 1800, and Dr. Holmes in 1824.

⁵⁵ William Fines was created

Viscount Say and Sele, 1613, died 1662. The Name of Sele was added to the Title because the first Lord of the Name of Fines was Son of Sir William Fines, by Joan, daughter of Sir William de Say.

⁵⁶ The first Lord Brooke was Grand-son of the noted Sir Fulke Greville, of the Time of Elizabeth, created Baron Brooke of Beauchamp's Court, County of Warwick, 9th January, 1620.

Part of the Country by the *Nipnets* (a general Name for all inland *Indians* betwixt *Massachusetts* and *Connecticut* River.)⁵⁷ The Sea-coast South-west from *Plimouth*, was first possessed by some discontented with the Government of the *Massachusetts* Colony, from which some being exiled, others of their Friends accompanying of them, settled themselves upon a fair Island to the South-west of *Cape Cod*, now called *Road-Island*,⁵⁸ others settled upon the Mayn, at a Place called *Providence*, and so by Degrees planting towards *Narraganset Bay*, made another Plantation, called *Warwick*;⁵⁹ which Places are since by Patent conferred upon the Inhabitants of *Road Island*; the rest of the Country from *Pequod River*⁶⁰ to the River of *Connecticut*, falling within the Bounds

⁵⁷ Very little can be added to the Description of Positions occupied by those Indians. Indians themselves were neither Surveyors nor Geographers, though as Roger Williams affirms, they may have been particular as to Meets and Bounds of certain Localities, under some Kind of Improvement.

⁵⁸ Called by the Indians, *Aqued-neck*. Or, according to Mr. Arnold, that is the Spelling employed in the Deed of Purchase of the Indians. Capt. Adrian Blok, a Dutch Navigator, discovered the Island in 1614; and it being in Autumn, the Leaves of the Trees and Shrubs had, as in these Days, assumed a reddish Hue. Hence *der Rood Eylandt*—the Red

Island. See Moulton's *Hist. New York*, in Arnold's *Rhode Island*, i, 70.

⁵⁹ So called in Honor of the Earl of Warwick, whose Family name was Rich. Robert, the first Earl, was created in 1618. The second Earl of the same Name died 1658.

⁶⁰ Every American should demand the Restoration of the Indian Name of this River. Whoever has passed over London, Black-friars or Waterloo Bridges in Midsummer, or sailed up and down the noisome Thames of England at any Time, must be singularly wanting in his Senses if he would desire to fasten the Name of that River upon one of our beautiful New England Streams.

of *Connecticut Colony* by Patent also, since confirmed to the said Colony. Things had been very prosperously and successfully carried on in all the aforesaid Colonies and Jurisdictions, from the Year 1620, to the Year 1636, at which Time the *Narhaganfet Indians*, the most Warlike and Fierce of all the *Indians* in that Part of the Country, who had made all the Rest of the *Indians* to stand in Awe, having committed many barbarous Outrages upon their neighbour *Indians*, both *Narhagansets*⁶¹ on the East-side, and *Mobegins* on the West side of them: and also upon the *English* and *Dutch*, as they came occasionally to traffick with them: and in the Year 1634, having barbarously murdered Capt. *Stone* and Capt. *Norton*,⁶² as they were trading with them. Afterwards one *Oldham*⁶³ coming amongst them upon the like Account. In like Manner, having committed several Outrages upon the Planters about *Connecticut River*, the Inhabitants of all the Colonies, unanimously setting upon them in the Beginning of the Year 1637, they were easily suppressed; about 700 of them destroyed, the Rest either fled to the *Mohawks*, by whom they were all cut off that escaped, or else sheltering themselves under the *Narhagansets* and *Mobegins* their Neighbours,

⁶¹ Undoubtedly a Slip of the Pen. It should read *Wampanoags*.

known respecting *Stone* and *Norton* and their Misfortunes.

⁶² In *Mather's Relation*, and the Notes and References there given, will be found all that is at present

⁶³ Of *John Oldham* and his Murder by the *Indians* at *Block Island*, special Notice is taken in the *Hist. and Antiqs. of Boston*.

they were by the Power of the *English* all subjected to one of those two Nations of *Indians*.⁶⁴ *Miantonimoh* the chief Sachem or Lord of the *Narragansets*, expecting to be sole Lord and Ruler over all the *Indians*, after the *Pequods* were subdued, began to quarrel with the *Mohegins* upon the Account of Sovereignty, notwithstanding a firm Agreement was made betwixt the *English* and the said *Narragansets* in the Year 1637, when they had helped to destroy the *Pequods*;⁶⁵ and also notwithstanding the tripartite League between the said *Narragansets*, the *Mohegins* and the *English* at Hartford (the chief Town of *Connecticut* Colony) made in the Year 1638, wherein the said *Indians* were solemnly engaged not to quarrel either with the *Mohegins* or any other *Indians*, until they had first asked the Advice of the *English*, to whose Determination they had likewise obliged themselves to stand in all following Differences among them. Yet the Ambitious *Narragansets* specially their chief Leader *Miantonimoh*, bore such an inveterate hatred against the *Mohegins*, that they were every Year picking Quarrels with them. The *Mohegins* on the other Side though not so numerous, yet a more warlike

⁶⁴ This is a very brief Summary of the Pequot War. Its History will be fully given afterwards.

⁶⁵ The Author was not well informed respecting the Difficulties between the *Narragansets* and *Mo-*

hegans. Impartial History has entirely and fully decreed that the *Narragansets* were the aggrieved and wronged Party. See Mather's *Relation*, Gov Hopkins in *Mass. Hist. Colls.*, Arnold's *Rhode Island*, and The *Book of the Indians*.

People and more politick, always made their Recourse to the English, complaining of the Insolencies of the *Narragansets*, contrary to this League, so as they would hardly be kept from making open War against them, when they saw all other Attempts to kill and destroy *Vncas* the *Mohegin* Sachem, by Treachery, Poison and Sorcery, prove ineffectual.⁶⁶ Infomuch, that at last the Malice of *Miantonimoh* grew to that Height, that they began to plot against the English themselves, for defending of *Vncas*. But it being discovered by *Vncas* and some of his Men to the *English*, *Miantonimoh* was sent for by the *Massachusetts* Court to come to *Boston*; when he came there he would have denied those Things laid to his Charge, but was convicted by one of his own Fellows;⁶⁷ and instead of standing to his Promise,

⁶⁶ The Charges and Accusations against the *Narragansets* will be found at large in the *Records of the Commissioners of the United Colonies*. There is a no more detestable Character in all our Indian History than that of *Vncas*. But Affairs were so conditioned that it appeared all important to the English of Connecticut and Massachusetts to espouse the Cause of that Miscreant; and thus was compassed the Ruin of one of the noblest Indians of that or any other Period.

⁶⁷ "When he came," says Winthrop, "the Court was assembled, and before his Admission, we considered how to treat with him, for

we knew him to be a very subtle Man." When he was admitted, "he was set down at the lower End of the Table, over against the Governor;" but he would not at any Time speak upon Business, unless some of his Counsellors were present; saying, "he would have them present, that they might bear witness with him, at his return Home, of all his Sayings." The Governor further observes: "In all his Answers he was very deliberate, and showed good Understanding in the Principles of Justice and Equity, and Ingenuity withal."

Winthrop, although he sided with his Countrymen, and has made the most favorable Record he could for

to deliver him to the Mohegin Sachem, whose Subject he was; going homeward he cut off his Head, to prevent his telling more Tales. And with great Discontent as he was going Home, said he would come no more at *Boston*; wherein he proved a truer Prophet than he himself believed when he uttered the Words: for in the End of the same Year 1643,⁶⁸ making War upon *Uncas*, he was taken Prisoner by him, and soon after by the Advice of the Commissioners of the four Colonies (at that Time united firmly into a League offensive and defensive, on which Account they were after that Time called the United

them and against the great Chief, by no Means warrants the Statements in the Narrative. But Winthrop's Journal was not then probably used by the Author. In that Winthrop confesses that when Miantonimo was arraigned before the Court, none of his Accusers appeared, and he was told by that Court that it did not know who his Accusers were! He then demanded why he was summoned to Boston, so much to his Detriment? showing that their Grounds for so doing rested wholly on the false Reports instigated by *Uncas*. "Where is *Uncas*?" he demanded. "Why is my Accuser not here? I am ready to prove his Treachery to his Face. I am not afraid to see the Faces of the English, though I was told that if I came to Boston I would be put to Death. I fear nothing, for I have not wronged the English."

The Massachusetts Men were satisfied, and advised those of Connecticut not to make War on the Narragansets. But their Ruin was predetermined. What it was not advisable to do directly, was eventually accomplished indirectly. The Mohegans had the Sympathy and Aid of the Connecticut Men, the Narragansets were overthrown, and false History was written to cover the Iniquities of bad Men,

⁶⁸ "There was this Year a very strange Disease among the Indians. They ran up and down as if Delirious, till they could run no longer. They would make their Faces as black as a Coal, and snatch up any Weapon as though they would do Mischief with it, and speak great swelling Words, but they did no Harm." Mayhew's *Indian Converts*, Page 3.

Colonies of *New-England*, though since that Time they are reduced but to three Colonies; that of *New-Haven and Connecticut*, by the last Patent being conjoined in one): his Head was cut off by *Vncas*, it being justly feared that there would never be any firm Peace, either betwixt the *English* and *Narhagansets*, or betwixt the *Narhagansets* and the *Mohegins*, while *Montonimob* was left alive; however the *Narhagansets* have ever since that Time born an implacable Malice against *Vncas* and all the *Mohegins*, and for their Sakes secretly against the *English*, so far as they durst discover it.⁶⁹

In the Year 1645, and 1646, they grew so Insolent, that the Commissioners of the United Colonies were compelled to raise Forces to go against them: but when they perceived that the *English* were in good [7] earnest, they began to be afraid, and sued for Peace, and submitted to pay a Tribute to satisfy for the Charge of Preparation for the War, but were always very backward to make Payment, until the *English* were forced to demand it by new Forces;⁷⁰ so that it appeared they were unwillingly willing to hold any friendly Correspondence with the *English*, yet

⁶⁹ The Affairs of this Time are so fully described in the *Book of the Indians*, and the *Records of the United Colonies*, that it is necessary only to refer to those Sources.

⁷⁰ I have shown elsewhere that it was owing to the extreme Poverty

of the Indians that they did not pay the Wampum they had promised from Time to Time. Nor need it be argued that these Promises of Sums of Wampum had been extorted at the Point of the Sword. See *Book of the Indians*, 135.

durst they never make any open Attempt upon them, until the present Rebellion, wherein that they had no small Hand, is too evident, notwithstanding all their pretences to the contrary, as will appear in the Sequel of this History.

Thus it is apparent upon what Terms the *English* stood with the *Narbagansets* ever since the cutting off *Miantonmoh*, their chief Sachems Head by *Uncas*, it being done from the Advice and Counsel of the *English*, Anno 1643.⁷¹ As for the Rest of the *Indians* ever since the suppressing the *Pequods* in the Year 1637, until the Year 1675, there was always in Appearance

⁷¹ This is in Accordance with the cold-blooded Records of the Time. The English had not, nor did they claim Jurisdiction over those Indians then at War, and could not rightfully interfere in their Quarrel. The Battle which decided the Fate of Miantonimo was fought in the End of the Summer, 1643. The precise Day and Month does not appear. Being taken Prisoner, Miantonimo was conducted to Hartford by Uncas, and there held until the English should direct how he should be disposed of. The Meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies being near at Hand, the Matter was deferred to that Body. It met at Boston on the 7th of September, 1643. Nearly the first Business brought forward was that of the Disposition of Miantonimo. Before coming to a Decision the Commissioners went over all the

Array of Testimony furnished during several Years by Uncas and others of the most malignant of Miantonimo's Enemies, in which was enumerated all the vague Charges of Plots, Treasons, Poisons and Sorceries. The Commissioners then continue: "These Things being duly weighed and considered, we apparently see that Uncas cannot be safe while Myantenomo lives, but that either by secret Treachery or open Force, his Life will be still in Danger. Wherefore they thinke he may justly put such a false and bloodthirsty Enemy to Death; but in his own Jurisdiction, not in the English Plantations; and advising that in the Manner of his Death all Mercy and Moderation be shewed, contrary to the Practice of the Indians, who exercise Tortures and Cruelty."—*Records of the Commissioners, U. Col.* i, 11-12, 15.

Amity and good Correspondence on all Sides, scarce an Englishman was ever known to be assaulted or hurt by any of them, until after the Year 1671, when the Son of one *Matsoonas*, who as was supposed, being vexed in his Mind that the Design against the *English*, intended to begin 1671, did not take place, out of meer Malice and Spight against them, slew an English Man travelling along the Road:⁷² the said *Matsoonas* being a *Nipnet* Indian, which *Nipnets* were under the Command of the Sachem of *Mount-hope*,⁷³ the Author of all the present Mischiefs. Upon a due Enquiry into all preceding Transactions between the *Indians* and the *English*, from their first settling in these Coasts, there will appear no Ground of Quarrel that any of them had against the *English*, nor any Appearance of Provocation upon one Account or other; for when *Plymouth* Colony was first planted, within three Months after their first Landing, *March* 16, 1620, *Masasoit* the chief Sachem of all that Side of the Countrey,⁷⁴ repaired to the *English* at *Plimouth*,

⁷² I have given all the Particulars of this Affair in the *Book of the Indians*, from original Ms. Documents of the Time. The Name of the murdered Man was Zachary Smith. He was murdered in what was then Dedham, in the Month of April.

Nipnets when the *Nipnets* judged it their Interest to be so commanded, while, for Aught to be seen to the Contrary, they were as Independent as any other Tribe situated as they were. Bonds of Alliance were not much understood by Indians.

⁷⁴ This will be found further enlarged upon in the second Volume.

and entred into a solemn League upon fundry Articles, printed in N. E. Memorial 1669, p. 24,⁷⁵ the words are as followeth :

1. *That neither he, nor any of his should injure or do hurt to any of their People.*⁷⁶

2. *That if any of his did any hurt to any of theirs*⁷⁷ *he should send the Offender that they*⁷⁸ *might punish him.*

3. *That if any Thing were taken away from any of theirs, he should cause it to be restored, and they should do the like to his.*⁷⁹

4. *That if any did unjustly war against him, they should*⁸⁰ *aid him ; and if any did war against them,*⁸¹ *he should aid them.*⁸² [8.]

5. *That he should send to his neighbour Confederates, to certifie them of this that they might not wrong them,*⁸³ *but might be likewise comprised in their Conditions of Peace.*

6. *That when his Men came to them*⁸⁴ *upon any occasion, they should leave their Arms*⁸⁵ *(which were their Bows and Arrows) behind them.*

⁷⁵ This Reference is to the original Edition of Morton. It will be found at Page 54 of Davis's Edition. An Edition gotten up according to the Lights of the present Day, properly paged and indexed is much wanted.

⁷⁶ Morton much changed the Articles of this Treaty, rendering them exceedingly bungling, and Davis did not think it worth his while to point out Morton's Errors, nor has he corrected the Date given by him. It was made and executed on the 22d of March, 1620-1. In the 1st Article for *their* People, read *our* People.

⁷⁷ *Ours.* ⁷⁸ *Wee.*

⁷⁹ Article 3 should read thus: "If any of our Tooles were taken away when our People were at Work, he should cause them to be restored, and if ours did any Harme to any of his, we would doe the Like to them."

⁸⁰ *We would for they should.*

⁸¹ *Us.* ⁸² *Us.* ⁸³ *Us.* ⁸⁴ *Us*

⁸⁵ Instead of *Arms*, read *Bowes and Arrowes behind them, as wee should doe our Peeeces when we come to them.*

7. Lastly, *That so doing, their Sovereign Lord King James would esteem him as his Friend and Ally.*⁸⁶

The which League the same Sachim, Sept, 26, 1630⁸⁷ a little before his Death, coming with his eldest Son, afterwards called *Alexander*, did renew with the *English* at the Court of *Plymouth*, for himself and his Son, and their Heirs and Successors: and after that he came to Mr. *Browns* that lived not far from *Mount Hope*,⁸⁸ bringing his two Sons *Alexander* and *Philip* with him desiring that there might be Love and Amity after

⁸⁶ For Art. 7, read, "That doing thus King JAMES would esteem of him as his Friend and Ally."

⁸⁷ This date is undoubtedly a Misprint and should be 1639. See a few Paragraphs onward. The Error is the Same in the first Edition. It will also be seen Elsewhere that Massasoit was living many Years after this.

⁸⁸ How, when or by whom this noted Point received the Name of *Mount Hope*, does not appear. Dr. Stiles's notes, in his Edition of Church's *History* that its Name is "*Mont-baup*, a Mountain in Bristol." The Editor of *Yamoyden* says, "The Indians called it *Montaup* or *Mont Haup*; and Alden, *Epitaphs*, iv, 77, that, "According to authentic Tradition, however, *Mon Top* was the genuine Aboriginal Name of this celebrated Em-

inence." But these are most likely all Corruptions of *Mount Hope*. I visited this Mount on a beautiful Summer's Day in 1824. From its Summit all the important Towns in Rhode-Island are visible. It rises to the Height of some 250 Feet above the Level of the surrounding Waters of the Bay. Not far from the Summit, it is said the Wampanoag Chiefs had their principal Residence. Here Philip resided in Summer, and here was killed, as will be seen. When I visited the Place, a neat octagonal Summer House stood upon the Top, erected by Captain James de Wolfe, in 1801. This was surmounted by a Statue of King Philip. These have been gone many Years. The following Lines of *Yamoyden* scarcely do Mount Hope Justice:

"With equal Swell above the Flood,
The Forest-cinctured Mountain stood;
Its Eastward Cliffs, a Rampart wild,
Rock above Rock sublimely piled.

his Death, between his Sons and them, as there had been betwixt himself and them in former Times : yet it is very remarkable, that this *Maj-fasoit*, called also *Woosamequen* (how much soever he affected the English, yet was never in the least Degree any Ways well-affected to the Religion of the English, but would in his last Treaty with his Neighbours at *Plimouth*, when they were with him about purchasing some Land at *Swanzy*, have had them engaged never to attempt to draw away any of his People from their old *Pagan* Superstition, and devilish Idolatry to the Christian Religion, and did much insist upon it till he saw the English were resolved never to make any Treaty with him more upon that Account ; which when he discerned, he did not further urge it : but that was a bad Omen, that notwithstanding whatever his Humanity were to the English, as they were Strangers (for indeed they had repayed his former Kindness to them, by protecting him afterwards against the Insolencies of the *Narhaganfets*) he manifested no small Displacency of Spirit against them, as they were Christians : which Strain was evident more in his Son that succeeded him, and all his People, inasmuch that some discerning Persons of that Jurisdiction, have feared that that Nation of *Indians* would all be rooted out, as is since come to pass. The like may be observed concerning the *Narhaganfets*, who were always more civil and courteous to the English than any of the other *Indians*, yet never as yet received the least Tincture

of Christian Religion, but have in a Manner run the same Fate with the Rest of their Neighbours of *Mount Hope*, there being very few of them now left standing. Nor is it unworthy the Relation, what a Person of Quality amongst us hath of Late affirmed, one⁸⁹ being much conversant with the *Indians* about *Merimack River*, being Anno 1660; [9.] invited by some Sagamores or Sachims to a great Dance (which Solemnities are the Times they make use of to tell their Stories, and convey the Knowledge of forepast and most memorable Things to Posterity.) *Passaconaway* the great Sachim of that Part of the Countrey, intending at that Time to make his last Farewell Speech to his Children and People, that were then all gathered together, he addressed himself to them in this manner :

I am now going the Way of all Flesh, or ready to die, and not likely to see you ever met together any more : I will now leave this Word of Counsel with you, that you take heed how you quarrell with the English for though you may do them much mischief, yet assuredly you will all be destroyed, and rooted off the Earth if you do : for, said he, I was as much an Enemy to the English at their first coming into these Parts, as any one whatsoever, and did try all Ways and Means possible to have destroyed them, at least to have prevented them sitting down here, but I could in no way effect it ; (it is to be noted that this Passaconaway was the most noted Pawaw and Sorcerer of all the Country) therefore I advise you never to contend with

⁸⁹ The Author probably refers to Indian Apostle, very early so called Mr John Elliot, since noted as the See Mather, *Rel.* 36.

the English, nor make War with them. And accordingly his eldest Son, Wonalancet by Name, as soon as he perceived that the Indians were up in Arms, he withdrew himself into some remote Place, that he might not be hurt by the English, or the Enemies, or be in danger by them.

This Passage was thought fit to be inserted here, it having so near an Agreement with the former, intimating some secret Awe of God upon the Hearts of some of the Principal amongst them, that they durst not hurt the English, though they bear no good Affection to their Religion; wherein they seem not a Little to imitate *Balaam*, who whatever he uttered when he was under the awful Power of Divine Illumination, yet when left to himself, was as bad an Enemy to the Israel of God, as ever before.

But to return whence there hath been this Digression :

After the Death of this *Woosamequen* or *Massasoit*, his eldest Son succeeded him about twenty Years since, *Alexander* by name, who notwithstanding the League he had entered into with the English, together with his Father, in the Year 1639, had neither Affections to the Englishmens Persons, nor yet to their Religion, but had been plotting with the *Narhagansets* to rise against the English; of which the Governour and Council of *Plimouth* being informed, they presently sent for him to bring him to the Court; the Person to whom that Service was committed,

was a prudent and resolute Gentleman, the present Governour of the said Colony, who was neither afraid of Danger, nor yet willing to delay in a [10] matter of that Moment, he forthwith taking eight or ten stout Men with him well armed, intended to have gone to the said *Alexander's* Dwelling, distant at least forty Miles from the Governour's House; but by a good Providence, he found him whom he went to seek at a Hunting-House, within six miles of the English Towns, when the said *Alexander* with about eighty⁹⁰ Men were newly come in from Hunting, and had left their Guns without Doors, which Major *Winslow* with his small Company wisely seized, and conveyed away, and then went into the Wigwam, and demanded *Alexander* to go along with him before the Governour, at which Message he was much appall'd, but being told by the undaunted Messenger, that if he stir'd or refused to go, he was a dead Man; he was by one of his chief Councillors, in whose Advice he most confided, perswaded to go along to the Governours House, but such was the Pride and Height of his Spirit, that the very Surprizal of him, so raised his Choler and Indignation, that it put him into a Fever, which notwithstanding all possible Means that could be used, seemed

⁹⁰ See Letter of John Cotton of Plymouth to Dr. I. Mather, printed in Davis's *Morton*, 426-7. It is there stated that "Alexander had with him about 8 Men and sundry Squaws." This is unquestionably correct, and the "eighty" in the Text is an Error easily made in transcribing. See also Mather's *Relation*, 228.

Mortal; whereupon entreating those who held him Prisoner, that he might have Liberty to return Home, promising to return again if he recovered, and to send his Son as Hostage till he could do so; on that Consideration he was fairly dismissed, but died before he got half Way Home. Here let it be observed, that although Some have taken up false Reports, as if the English had compelled him to go further or faster than he was able, and so fell into a Fever, or as if he were not well used by the Physician that looked to him, while he was with the English, all which are notoriously False;⁹¹ nor is it to be imagined that a Person of so noble a Disposition as is that Gentleman (at that Time employed to bring him) should himself, or suffer any else to be uncivil⁹² to a Person allied to them by his own, as well as his Fathers League, as the said *Philip* also was; nor was any Thing of that Nature ever objected to the English of *Plimouth*⁹³ by the said *Alexan-*

⁹¹ Mather, in his *Relation*, is rather more circumstantial than Mr. Hubbard, but the two Accounts do not differ materially. The Affair happened probably in July, 1662.

⁹² The Author's Idea of *Civility* must have been widely different from ours, and I apprehend he would not have accounted being made a Prisoner himself, and forced to march against his Will many Miles and kept in Confinement, a very

civil Affair. But it appears that some of the Party who captured Alexander reported that he went freely, and made no Objection. This can be easily believed, seeing that the Arms of all his Party had been seized by his Captors.

⁹³ The Year previous there was a War between the Mohegans and Nipnets, which caused a good deal of Anxiety, and Philip being ordered to appear at Plymouth may have had Something to do with it,

ders Brother, by name *Philip*, commonly for his ambitious and haughty Spirit nick-named *King Philip*, when he came in the Year 1662, in his own Person with *Saufaman* his Secretary and chief Councillor to renew the former League that had been between his Predecessors and the English of *Plimouth*; but there was as much Correspondence betwixt them for the next seven Years, as ever had been in any former Times. What can be imagined therefore, besides the Infatigation of Satan, that either envied at the Prosperity of the Church of God here seated; or else fearing lest the Power of the Lord Jesus, that had

while the English might well imagine that their Course with Alexander gave sufficient Occasion for Distrust. Then Massachusetts claimed Jurisdiction over the Nipmets or a Part of them, and Connecticut defended the Mohegans. In May, 1661, Massachusetts demanded Satisfaction of Uncas, "for that he had offered great Violence to their Subjects at Quabauke, killing some and taking others Captive." That, "If he did not returne the Captives and £33 Damage, then the Massachusetts would recover it by Force of Armes." Major Mason returned an Apology or Defence of Uncas, saying, the Indians of Qabaukutt were none of Wosamequen's men, and consequently not under the Massachusetts; but that they were Onoqueuin's men, and that Onoqueuin his deadly Enemy was born there. Alexander, alias Wamsutta

was at Plymouth in 1661 and declared that the Quabauke Indians belonged to him, "and further said that hee did warr against Vncas this Summer on that Account." Besides some Documents in the *Plym. Colony Records*, important Facts from original MSS. will be seen in the *Book of the Indians* upon this Affair.

Massasoit died in the Winter of 1660-1, as is inferred from the Documents above referred to. The Death of Alexander occurred in the End of Summer, perhaps in September, 1661, and Philip his successor was summoned to Plymouth in 1662, as mentioned in the Text. He was there on the 6th of August, and made a Treaty. "John Sufamen and Francis, Sachem of Nauset" were with him, and witnessed the Treaty. See Mather's *Relation*, 227, and *Plym. Col. Records*, iv, 256.

overthrown his Kingdom in other Parts of the World should do the Like here, and so the Stone taken out of the Mountain without Hands, should become a great Mountain it self, and fill the [II] whole Earth, no Cause of Provocation being given by the English; for once before this, in the Year 1671, the Devil, who was a Murderer from the Beginning, had so filled the Heart of this savage Miscreant with Envy and Malice against the English, that he was ready to break out into open War against the Inhabitants of *Plimouth*, pretending some petite Injuries done to him in planting Land;⁹⁴ but when the Matter of Controversie came to be heard before Divers of the *Massachusetts Colony*: yea when he himself came to *Boston*,⁹⁵ as it were referring his Case to the Judgment of that Colony, nothing of that Nature could be made to appear; Whereupon in way of Submission, he was of Necessity by that

⁹⁴ It is a natural Consequence, that any People living by the Side of another more prosperous than themselves should become Envious. Incapable of equalling their Neighbors, their Envy in Time becomes Hatred, and this begets Violence and War. That was the Condition of the North and South before the present Rebellion. The South, with its Millstone of Slavery about its Neck, saw the Free States rapidly increasing in Everything that makes a People great and respected, and chafing under its Inability to rise with them, instead of ap-

plying the only true Remedy for their Degradation, feloniously struck at the Life of the Nation regardless of Consequences. But while the Case of the Indians is not a Parallel one in some Respects, it is very similar in others.

⁹⁵ Our Author's Statement is in Accordance with the popular Opinion of his Time, while the Documents which have come down to us show that the actual Condition of Things was not clearly seen by the Writers of that Period. See *Book of the Indians*, p. 207.

evident Conviction, forced to acknowledge that it was the Naughtiness of his own Heart that put him upon that Rebellion, and nothing of any Provocation from the English; and to a Confession of this Nature, with a solemn Renewal of his Covenant, declaring his Desire, that this his Covenant might testify to the World against him, if ever he should prove unfaithful to those of *Plimouth*, or any other of the English Colonies therein; himself with his chief Councillors subscribed in the Presence of some Messengers sent on purpose to hear the Difference between *Plimouth* and the said *Philip*.⁹⁶ But for further Satisfaction of the Reader, the said Agreement and Submission shall be here published.

Taunton, April 10th, 1671.

Whereas my Father, my Brother, and my self, have formally submitted ourselves and our People unto the Kings Majesty of England, and to the Colony of New Plimouth, by solemn Covenant under our Hand; but I having of late through my Indiscretion, and the Naughtiness of my Heart, violated and broken this my Covenant with my Friends, by taking up Arms, with evil intent against them, and that groundlessly; I being now deeply sensible of my Unfaithfulness and Folly, do desire at this Time solemnly to renew my Covenant with my ancient Friends, and my Fathers Friends above mentioned, and do desire that this may testify to the World against me if ever I shall again fail in my Faithfulness towards them (that I have now, and at all

⁹⁶ How much Indians had to do because they had not the Power to with making Treaties, it is not resist. An unwritten Word of difficult to judge. They acquiesced, Honor with them was sufficient.

Times found so kind to me) or any other of the English Colonies; and as a real Pledg of my true Intentions for the Future to be Faithful and Friendly, I do freely engage to resign up unto the Government of New Plimouth, all my English Arms, to be kept by them for their Security, [12] so long as they shall see Reason. For true Performance of the Premises, I have hereunto set my Hand, together with the Rest of my Council.

In Presence of

William Davis.

William Hudson.

Thomas Brattle.

The Mark of *P. Philip.*

chief Sachem of *Pocanoket.*

The Mark of *V. Tavofer.*

The Mark of *Capt. Wifposke.*

The Mark of *T. Woonkaponchunt.* [*Woonkaponchunt.*]

The Mark of *8. Nimrod.*⁹⁷

To which for the further clearing the Justice of the present War, the Result of the Debate of the Commissioners of the United Colonies about the Matter of the War shall be here inserted.

At a Meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies held in *Boston,*

September 9th, 1675.

We having received from the Commissioners of Plimouth a Narrative shewing the Rise and several Steps of that Colony, as to the present War with the Indians, which had its Beginning there, and its Progress into the Massachusetts, by their Insolencies and Outrages, murdering many Persons, and burning their Houses in sundry Planta-

⁹⁷ From this Treaty to the next, Hubbard does not touch upon those which was held at Plymouth in September following (1671) there was continued Excitement. Mr. *Plymouth Colony Records.*

tions in both Colonies. And having only considered the same, do declare, that the said War doth appear to be both Just and Necessary, and its first Rise only a defensive War. And therefore we do agree and conclude, that it ought to be jointly prosecuted by all the united Colonies, and the Charges thereof to be born and paid, as is agreed in the Articles of Confederation.

*John Wintthrop.
James Richards.*

*Thomas Danforth.
William Stoughton.
Josiah Winslow.
Thomas Hinckley.*

Yet whatever his Submission was before, or his subjecting himself and his People to our King, or his Engagement to pay a Sum of Money in Part of the Charges then occasioned by him (nor have the English in or about *Plimouth*, since, or before that Time been any Ways injurious unto him, or any of his People) all which are fully declared in a Narrative⁹⁸ given by the Commissioners of the Colony of *Plimouth*, wherein they also signify that the Settlement and Issue of the former Controversy [13] between *Philip* and them, was obtained and made (principally) by the Mediation, and interposed Advice and Counsel of the other two confederate Colonies, and also in a Letter under the Governours Hand in these Words:—

I think I can clearly say, that before these present Troubles broke out, the English did not possess one Foot of Land in this Colony but what was fairly obtained by

⁹⁸ That Narrative is of great Mather's *Brief History*, p. 217-Interest, and may be read in 222.

honest Purchase of the Indian Proprietors : Nay, because some of our People are of a covetous Disposition, and the Indians are in Streights easily prevailed with to part with their Lands, we first made a Law, that none should purchase or receive of Gift any Land of the Indians without the Knowledge and Allowance of our Court, and Penalty of a Fine, five Pound per Acre for all that should be bought as obtained. And lest yet they should be streightned we ordered that Mount-Hope, Pocasset and several other Necks of the best Land in the Colony (because most suitable and convenient for them), should never be bought out of their Hands, or else they would have sold them long since. And our Neighbors of Rehoboth, and Swanzy, although they bought their Lands fairly of this Philip and his Father and Brother, yet because of their Vicinity, that they might not trespass upon the Indians, did at their own Cost set up a very substantial Fence quite cross that great Neck between the English and the Indians, and payed due Damage if at any Time any unruly Horse or other Beasts brake in and trespassed. And for divers Years last past (that all Occasions of Offence in that respect might be prevented); the English agreed with Philip and his, for a certain Sum, yearly, to maintain the said Fence, and secure themselves. And if at any Time they have brought Complaints before us, they have had Justice impartial and speedy, so that our own People have frequently complained, that we erred on the other Hand in shewing them overmuch Favour.

Marshfield, May 1.

Jos. Winflow.⁹⁹

1676.

Yet did this treacherous and perfidious Caitiff

⁹⁹ Son of Governor Edward Winflow, and "the first native-born Governor of the Old Colony." For an interesting Account

of the Winflows, See Miss E. Thomas's *Memorials of Marshfield*, 17, &c. See also a Pedigree in the *N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Regr.*, iv, 297.

still harbour the same or more mischievous Thoughts against the English than ever before, and hath been since that Time plotting with all the *Indians* round about to make a general Insurrection against the English in all the Colonies; which, as some Prisoners lately brought in have confessed, should have been put in Execution at once, by all the *Indians* rising as one Man, against all those Plantations of English which were next them. The *Narhagansets* having promised, as was confessed, to rise with four thousand fighting Men in the Spring of this present Year 1676.¹⁰⁰ But by the Occasion hereafter to be mentioned about *Sausaman*, Philip was necessitated for [14.] the Safety of his own Life to begin his Rebellion the Year before, when the Design was not fully ripe. Yet some are ready to think, that if his own Life had not now been in Jeopardy by the Guilt of the foresaid Murther of *Sausaman*, his Heart might have failed him, when it should have come to be put in Execution, as it did before in the Year 1671, which made one of his Captains, of far better Courage and Resolution than himself, when he saw his cowardly Temper and Disposition, fling down his Arms, calling him a *white-liver'd Cur*, or to that Purpose, and saying, That he would never own him again, or

¹⁰⁰ The Numbers of the Indians were, doubtless, considerably over estimated; though at the Beginning of the War the Narragansets were more numerous than any of the Tribes. One, writing in Boston in

1675, says, Philip "mustered up about 500, and had gotten about eight or nine hundred of his neighbouring Indians," all armed complete.—*Old Indian Chronicle*, p. 8. *Book of the Indians*, 207.

fight under him, and from that Time hath turned to the English, and hath continued to this Day a faithful and resolute Soldier in this Quarrel.¹⁰¹

That the *Indians* had a Conspiracy amongst themselves to rise against the English, is confirmed by some of the *Indians* about *Hadly*,¹⁰² although the plot was not come to Maturity when Philip began, the special Providence of God therein over-ruling the Contrivers: For when the Beginning of the Troubles first was reported from *Mount Hope*, many of the *Indians* were in a kind of Maze, not knowing well what to do; sometimes ready to stand for the English, as formerly they were wont to do, sometimes inclining to strike in with *Philip* (which at the last they generally did) which if it had been foreseen, much of that mischief might have been prevented that fell out in several Places, more by

¹⁰¹ Much has been said and written respecting the Bravery, Magnanimity and Statesmanship of King Philip. But I nowhere find any authentic Records to substantiate these Statements. On the other Hand, I find abundant Proof that he was quite destitute of such Qualities. As to his Bravery, not an Instance appears on Record, while there is ample Testimony to his Cowardice; being always the first to fly when he fancied his Enemies were near. As to his Magnanimity, no Instance is pointed out. And as to his Statesmanship, there is quite as great a want of it

as in the other Cases. In all his Treaties with the English nothing but an abject acquiescence in their Demands is seen. How different a Character is exhibited by Philip, to that of Miantonimo! The Greatness and Magnanimity of the latter is amply acknowledged by his worst Enemies, while that of Philip excites nothing but our Contempt and Pity.

¹⁰² Wabau, early in 1675, reported to Gen. Gookin, that he had reason to believe the Indians intended to begin War as soon as the Trees were leaved out.

perfidious and treacherous Dealing than any other Ways: the English never imagining that after so many obliging Kindnesses received from them by the *Indians*, besides their many Engagements and Protestations of Friendship, as formerly, they would have been so Ungrateful, perfidiously False and Cruel as they have since proved.

The Occasion of *Philips* so sudden taking up Arms the last Year, was this: There was one *John Saufaman*¹⁰³ a very cunning and plausible Indian, well skilled in the English Language, and bred up in the Profession of Christian Religion, imployed as a Schoolmaster at Natick, the *Indian* Town, who upon some Misdemeanour fled from his Place to *Philip*, by whom he was entertained in the Room and Office of Secretary, and his chief Councillor, whom he trusted with all his Affairs and secret Counsels: But afterwards, whether upon the Sting of his own Conscience, or by the frequent Sollicitations of Mr. *Eliot*, that had known him from a Child, and instructed him in the Principles of our Religion, who was often laying before him the heinous Sin of his Apostacy, and returning back to his old Vomit; he was at last prevailed with to forsake *Philip*, and return back to the Christian *Indians* at *Natick* where he was baptised, manifested publick Repentance for

¹⁰³ The most circumstantial Account of Saufaman by a Cotemporary will be found in Dr. I. Mather's *Relation*. The principal Facts are collected in the *Book of the Indians*, 172, 195.

all his former Offences, [15] and made a serious Profession of the Christian Religion: and did apply himself to preach to the *Indians*, wherein he was better gifted than any other of the Indian Nation; so as he was observed to conform more to the English Manners than any other Indian: yet having Occasion to go up with some others of his Country men to *Namasket*,¹⁰⁴ whether for the Advantage of Fishing or some such Occasion, it matters not; being there not far from *Philips Country*,¹⁰⁵ he had Occasion to be much in the Company of *Philips Indians*, and of *Philip* himself: by which Means he discerned by several Circumstances that the Indians were plotting anew against us; the which out of Fathfulness to the English the said *Sausaman* informed the Governour¹⁰⁶ of; adding also, that if it were known that he revealed it, he knew they would presently kill him. There appearing so many concurrent Testimonies from others, making it the more probable, that there was certain Truth in the Information; some Inquiry was made into the Business, by examining *Philip* himself, several of his Indians, who although they could do nothing, yet could not free themselves from just Suspicion; *Philip* therefore soon after contrived the said *Sausamans*

¹⁰⁴ This Place is in the present Town of Middleborough. It was visited in 1619 by Capt. Thomas Dermer, who wrote the Name *Nummastaquyt*. See Purchas, his *Pilgrimes*, iv, 1778.

¹⁰⁵ It was in Philip's Country, or the Country of the Wampanoags, originally.

¹⁰⁶ Governor Winflow, of Plymouth.

Death, which was strangely discovered ; notwithstanding it was so cunningly effected, for they that murdered him, met him upon the Ice on a great Pond,¹⁰⁷ and presently after they had knocked him down, put him under the Ice, yet leaving his Gun and his Hat upon the Ice, that it might be thought he fell in accidentally through the Ice and was drowned : but being missed by his Friend, who finding his Hat and his Gun, they were thereby led to the Place, where his Body was found under the Ice : when they took it up to bury him, some of his Friends, specially one *David*,¹⁰⁸ observed some Bruises about his Head, which made them suspect he was first knocked down, before he was put into the Water : however, they buried him near about the Place where he was found, without making any further Inquiry at present : nevertheless *David* his Friend, reported these Things to some English at *Taunton* (a Town not far from *Namasket*), occasioned the Governour to inquire further into the Business, wisely considering, that as *Sausaman* had told him, If it were known that he had revealed any of their Plots, they would murder him for his Pains : wherefore by special Warrant the Body of *Sausaman* being digged again out of his Grave, it was very apparent that he had been killed,

¹⁰⁷ Affawomset Pond, in Middleborough. The Murder was committed on the 29th of January, 1674-5.

¹⁰⁸ He was a Sogkonate or Seco-

net Indian, and was not of Philip's War Party. He appears to have been forced to go into their Ranks, with others of his Tribe, soon after the War broke out. His native Name was *Chowohumma*.

and not drowned.¹⁰⁹ And by a strange Providence an Indian¹¹⁰ was found, that by Accident was standing unseen upon a Hill, had seen them murder the said *Sausaman*, but durst never reveal it for Fear of losing his own Life likewise, until he was called to the Court at *Plimouth*, or before the Governour, where he plainly [16] confessed what he had seen. The Murderers being apprehended, were convicted by his undeniable Testimony, and other remarkable Circumstances, and so were all put to Death, being but three in Number; the last of them confessed immediately before his Death, that his Father (one of the Councillors and special Friends of *Philip*) was one of the two that murdered *Sausaman*, himself only looking on. This was done at *Plimouth Court*, held in June 1674.¹¹¹ Infomuch that *Philip* apprehending the Danger his own Head was in next, never used any further Means to clear himself from what was like to be laid to his Charge, either about his plotting against the English, nor yet about *Sausamans* Death: but by keeping his Men continually about him in Arms, and gathering what Strangers he could to join with him, marching up and down constantly in Arms,

¹⁰⁹ The Author had doubtless heard of the Story about the Bleeding of the dead Body on its being touched by the Murderer, but his good Sense prevented his alluding to it. All the Particulars are to be seen in Mather's *Relation*, with some *Light* on the Subject in general by King James.

¹¹⁰ His Name was Patuckson, mentioned only in this Connection.

¹¹¹ Two of those convicted were hanged on the 8th of June, and the third "was reprimed until a Month be expired," as the manuscript Record says. He was shot, however, within the Month.

both all the while the Court sat, as well as afterwards. The English of *Plimouth* hearing of all this, yet took no further Notice, than only to order a Militia Watch in all the adjacent Towns, hoping that *Philip* finding himself not likely to be arraigned by Order of the said Court, the present Cloud might blow over, as some others of like Nature had done before; but in Conclusion, the Matter proved otherwise; for *Philip* finding his Strength daily increasing, by the flocking of Neighbour-Indians unto him, and sending over their Wives and Children to the *Narhaganjets* for Security (as they use to do when they intend War with any of their Enemies,) immediately they began to Alarm the English at *Swanzy*, (the next Town to *Philips* Country,) as it were daring the English to begin; at last their Insolencies grew to such an Height, that they began not only to use threatening Words to the English, but also to kill their Cattel and rife their Houses; whereat an English-man was so provoked, that he let fly a Gun at an *Indian*, but did only wound, not kill him; whereupon the *Indians* immediately began to kill all the English they could, so as on the 24th of June, 1675,¹¹² was the Alarm of War first

¹¹² An Author in the *Old Indian Chronicle*, writing at the Time in Boston, gives the following curious earlier Facts: "About the 20th of June last, seven or eight of King Philip's Men came to Swansey on the Lord's Day, and would grind a Hatchet at an Inhabitants House.

The Master told them it was the Sabbath Day, and their [the Englishman's] God would be very angry if he should let them do it. They returned this Answer: They knew not who his God was, and that they would do it for all him or his God either: From thence they

founded in *Plimouth Colony*, when eight or nine of the English were slain in and about *Swanzy*: They first making a Shot at a Company of English as they returned from the Assembly where they were met in way of Humiliation that Day, whereby they killed one and wounded others: and then likewise at the same Time, they slew two Men on the High-way, sent to call a Surgeon, and barbarously the same Day murdered six Men in and about a Dwelling-house in another Part of the Town: all which Outrages were committed so suddenly, that the English had no Time to make any Resistance. For on the 14th of the same Month, besides Endeavours used by Mr. Brown of *Swanzy*, one of the Magistrates of *Plimouth* Jurisdiction, an amicable Letter was sent from the Council of *Plimouth* to *Philip*, [17] showing a Dislike of his Practices, and advising him to dismiss his strange *Indians*, and not suffer himself to be abused by false Reports concerning them that intended him no Hurt: but no Answer could be obtained, otherwise than threatening of War, which it was hoped might have been prevented, as heretofore it had been, when Things seemed to look with as bad a Face as then they did.¹¹³ However the Governour and Council of

went to another House, and took away some Victuals, but hurt no Man. Immediately they met a Man travelling on the Road, kept him in Custody a short Time, then dismissed him quietly, giving him this Cau-

tion;—that he should not Work on his God's Day, and that he should tell no Lies."—Page 8-9.

¹¹³ At this Point the Reader should recur to the *Plymouth Narrative*,

Plimouth, understanding that *Philip* continued in his Resolution, and manifested no Inclination to Peace, they immediately sent us what Forces they could to secure the Towns thereabouts, and make Resistance as Occasion might be: and also dispatched away Messengers to the *Massachusetts* Governour and Council, letting them know the State of Things about *Mount-hope*: and desiring their speedy Assistance, upon which, Care was immediately taken with all Expedition to send such Supplies as were desired: But in the mean time two Messengers were dispatched to *Philip*, to try whether he could not be diverted from his bloody Enterprize, so as to have prevented the Mischief since fallen out, hoping, that as once before, *viz*, Anno 1671, by their Mediation, a Stop was put to the like Tragedy; so the present War might by the same Means have been now turned aside. For in the said Year, *Philip* had firmly engaged himself, when he was at *Boston*, not to quarrel with *Plimouth* until he had first addressed himself to the *Massachusetts* for Advice and Approbation: But the two Messengers aforesaid, finding the Men slain in the Road, *June* 24, as they were going for the Chyrurgeon, apprehended it not safe to proceed any further, considering also, that a Peace now could not honourably be concluded after such barbarous Outrages

drawn up by Josiah Winslow and Thomas Hinckley. Our Author has too much abridged the Facts. See *Plymouth Colony Records*, x, 362-5. Mather's *Relation*, 217-222.

committed upon some of the neighbour Colony : Wherefore returning with all Speed to *Boston*, the *Massachusetts* Forces were dispatched away with all imaginable Haste, as the Exigent of the Matter did require, some of them being then upon, or ready for their March, the rest were ordered to follow after, as they could be raised. The sending forth of which, because it was the first Engagement in any warlike Preparations against the *Indians* shall be more particularly declared.¹¹⁴

On the 26th of *June* a Foot Company under Capt. *Daniel Henchman*, with a Troop under Capt. *Thomas Prentice*, were sent out of *Boston* towards *Mount Hope* ; it being late in the Afternoon before they began to March, the central Eclipse of the Moon in *Capric.* hapned in the evening before they came up to *Naponset River*, about twenty Miles from *Boston*, which occasioned them to make an Halt, for a little Repast, till the Moon recovered her Light again. Some melancholy Fancies would not be perswaded, but that the Eclipse falling out at that Instant of Time [18] was ominous, conceiving also that in the Centre of the Moon they discerned an unusual black Spot, not a little resembling the Scalp of an *Indian* : As some others not long before, imagined they saw the Form of an *Indian Bow*, accounting that likewise ominous (although the Mischief

¹¹⁴ The Author seems to have forgotten the Pequot and Narraganset Expeditions. He may have had

Reference, however, to the present War with Philip. See the *Book of the Indians*, 134.

following was done by Guns, not by Bows) both the one and the other, might rather have thought of what *Marcus Crassus*, the *Roman General*, going forth with an Army against the *Parthians*, once wisely replied to a private Souldier, that would have dissuaded him from marching at that Time, because of an Eclipse of the Moon in *Capricorn*, (*That he was more afraid of Sagitarius than of Capricornus*) meaning the Arrows of the *Parthians* (accounted very good Archers) from whom, as Things then fell out, was his greatest Danger.¹¹⁵ But after the Moon had waded through the dark Shadow of the Earth, and borrowed her Light again, by the Help thereof the two Companies marched on towards *Woodcoks House*,¹¹⁶ thirty Miles from Boston, where they arrived next Morning; and there retarded their Motion till the Afternoon, in Hope of being overtaken by a Company of Voluntiers; under the Command of Captain Samuel Mosely, which accordingly came to pass; so as on June 28 they all arrived at *Swanzy*, when by the Advice of Captain *Cudworth*¹¹⁷ the Commander in Chief of *Plimouth*

¹¹⁵ "Souldiers marched out of Boston towards Mount-hope, June 26th, and continued marching that Night, when there hapned a great Eclipse of the Moon, which was totally darkned above an Hour." I. Mather, *Brief History*, 55-6. How the Author could let this Occasion slip for indulging in Remarks upon supernatural Occurrences, it is not easy to imagine.

¹¹⁶ It was then, or soon after, converted into a Garrison, and continued to be a noted Place for one hundred and thirty-three Years; at the End of which Period (1808) it was taken down and a more commodious Edifice was erected on the Spot. It is in the Town of Attleborough.

¹¹⁷ He was now General (though

Forces, they were removed to the Head Quarters; which for that Time were appointed at Mr. *Miles* his House, the Minister of *Swanzy*,¹¹⁸ within a Quarter of a Mile of the Bridge leading into *Philips* Lands. They arriving there some little Time before Night,¹¹⁹ twelve of the Troopers, unwilling to lose Time, passed over the Bridge, for Discovery into the Enemies Territories, where they found the rude Welcome of eight or ten *Indians* firing upon them out of the Bushes, killing one *William Hammond*, wounding Corporal *Belcher*,¹²⁰ his Horse also being shot down under him; the Rest of the said Troopers having discharged upon those *Indians* that ran away after their first shot, carried off their two dead and wounded Companions, and so retired to the main Guard for that Night, pitching in a Barricado about Mr. *Miles* his House. The Enemy thought to have braved it out by a bold Assault or two at the first; but their Hearts soon began to fail them when they perceived the *Massachusetts* and *Pli-*

not actually commissioned till some Months later); having been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Plymouth Forces. I found in the State Paper Office, London, an exceedingly interesting Letter written by this Gentleman, a Copy of which is in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, xiv, 101-4, prefaced by the Editor with a good Notice of the Author.

¹¹⁸ Mr. John Miles. He came

from Wales; was one of the Ejected in 1662. Owing to the sectarian Troubles in Boston he was forced to leave some Time before this War, and settled in *Swanzy*—so named, I suppose, for *Swansea* in Wales, whence Mr. Miles came.

¹¹⁹ June 28th.

¹²⁰ Andrew, Father of Gov. Jonathan Belcher, it is supposed. What William Hammond this was is yet uncertain.

mouth Forces both engaged against them : for the next Morning¹²¹ they shouted twice or thrice, at Half a Miles Distance, and nine or ten of them shewing themselves on this Side the Bridg: our Horseman with the whole Body of the Privateers under Captain *Mosely*,¹²² not at all daunted by such kind of Alarms, nor willing so to lose the Bridg, ran violently down upon them over the said Bridg, pursuing them a Mile and a Quarter on the other Side: Ensign [19] *Savage*,¹²³ that young martial Spark, scarce twenty Years of Age, had at that Time one Bullet lodged in his Thigh, another shot through the Brim of his Hat, by ten or twelve of the Enemy discharging upon him together, while he boldly held up his Colours in the Front of his Company : but the weather not suffering any further Action at that Time, those that were thus far advanced, were compelled to retreat back to the main Gaurd, having first made a Shot upon the *Indians* as they ran away into a Swamp near by, whereby they killed five or six of them, as was understood soon after at *Narbagan-set*: This resolute Charge of the English-Forces upon the Enemy made them quit their Place on *Mount-hope* that very Night, where *Philip* was

¹²¹ June 29th. Benjamin Church was present in these early Affairs, and his Account of them, as related to his Son Thomas, and published by him, should be read in this Connection. The Work will be often referred to, under the Title of *Entertaining History*. See *Preface*.

¹²² Some Elucidation of Mosely's Company will be found in the *Old Indian Chronicle*, 9, 10, and *History and Antiquities of Boston*, 402.

¹²³ Perez, Son of Maj. Thomas Savage. He was not wounded by the Indians, but by the English themselves, in their Confusion.

never seen after, till the next Year, when he was by a divine Mandate sent back, there to receive the Reward of his Wickedness where he first began his Mischiefs. The next Day Major *Savage* (that was to command in chief over the *Massachusetts* Forces, being come up with other Supplies about six a Clock over Night,) the whole Body intended to march into *Mount Hope*, and there beat up the Enemies Quarters, or give him Battel, if he durst abide it: but the Weather being doubtful, our Forces did not march till near Noon, about which Time they set out, with a Troop of Horse in each Wing, to prevent the Danger of the Enemies Ambuscadoes; after they had marched about a Mile and Half, they passed by some Houses newly burned: not far off one of them they found a Bible newly torn, and the Leaves scattered about by the Enemy in Hatred of our Religion therein revealed; two or three Miles further they came up with some Heads, Scalps, and Hands cut off from the Bodies of some of the English, and stuck upon Poles near the Highway, in that barbarous and inhuman Manner bidding us Defiance;¹²⁴ the Commander in Chief giving Order that those Monuments of the Enemies Cruelty should be taken down, and buried: the whole Body of the

¹²⁴ "They marched until they came to the Narrow of the Neck, at a place called Keekamuit, [now in the Town of Warren, R. I.] where they took down the Heads of eight Englishmen that were killed at

the Head of Mattapoisset Neck, and set upon Poles."—Church, 12-13. These People were killed on the 24th of June. See I. Mather, *Brief History*, 54. Their Names have not come to my Knowledge.

Forces still marched on, two Miles further, where they found divers Wigwams of the Enemy, amongst which were many Things scattered up and down, arguing the hasty Flight of the Owners; Half a Mile further, as they passed through many Fields of stately Corn, they found *Philips* own Wigwam; every Place giving them to perceive the Enemies hasty Departure from thence. After they had marched two Miles further they came to the Sea-side, yet in all this Time meeting with no *Indians*, nor any Sign of them, unless of their Flight to some other Places. The Season like to prove very tempestuous, and rainy, Captain *Cudworth* with some of the Men of *Plymouth* passed over to *Road-Island*. The Forces under Major *Savage* were forced to abide all night in the open Field, without any Shelter, notwithstanding the Abundance of Rain that [20] fell; and in the Morning despairing to meet with any Enemy on *Mount-Hope*, they retreated back to their Quarters at *Swanzy*, in the Way meeting with many *Indian* Dogs that seemed to have lost their Masters. That Night Captain *Prentice* his Troop for conveniency of Quarters, as also for Discovery was dismissed to lodge at *Seaconke* or *Rehoboth*, a Town within six Miles of *Swanzy*. As they returned back in the Morning, Captain *Prentice* divided his Troop, delivering one Half to Lieutenant *Oakes*,¹²⁵ and keeping the other

¹²⁵ Thomas of Cambridge, Brother of President Union Oakes, of Harvard College, according to Savage, in his great *Dictionary*.

himself, who as they rode along, espied a Company of *Indians* burning an Houfe; but could not pursue them by Reason of several Fences, that they could not go over till the Indians had escaped into a Swamp. Those with Lieutenant *Oaks* had the like Discovery, but with better Success, as to the Advantage of the Ground, so as pursuing of them upon a Plain, they slew four or five of them in the Chase, whereof one was known to be *Thebe*,¹²⁶ a Sachem of Mount-Hope, another of them was a chief Councillor of *Philips*; yet in this Attempt the Lieutenant lost one of his Company, *John Druce*¹²⁷ by Name, who was mortally wounded in his Bowels, whereof he soon after died, to the great Greif of his Companions. After the said Troop came up to the Head Quarters at *Swanzy*, they understood from Captain *Cudworth* that the Enemy were discovered upon *Pocasset*, another Neck of Land lying over an Arm of the Sea, more towards *Cape Cod*: However, it was resolved that a more narrow Search

¹²⁶ The same called in the *Old Colony Records*, *Peebe*. His Residence was upon a Point of Land in Barrington, R. I., called *Peebe's Neck*. It is the ancient *Sowams* of Mourt's *Relation*. See Feffen-den's *History of Warren, R. I.*, 14. A writer in the *Chronicle* says a Brother of Philip was killed at the same Time. I have met with no other Chronicler of the Time who mentions the Fact; nor have I met

with the mention of a Brother of Philip, other than that of Wamsutta (Alexander), saving in one Deed from Philip, of Lands on both Sides of Palmer's River, in 1668. To that Deed "*Sonconowbew*, Philip's Brother" is a Signer, and "*Peebe*, Counsellor."

¹²⁷ He belonged to Roxbury. He was not killed outright, but lived to reach his Home, and there died of his Wound.

should be made after them, both upon Mount-Hope, and upon the Ground between *Swanzy* and *Rehoboth* to scour the Swamps, and assault them, if they could find where they were intrenched. Captain *Henchman*, and Captain *Pren-tice*, were ordered to search the Swamps; while Captain *Mofely*, and Captain *Page*¹²⁸ with his Dragoons attending on Major *Savage*, should return back into Mount-Hope, that they might be sure to leave none of the Enemy behind them, when they should remove to pursue them elsewhere. About ten a Clock next Morning, July 4th, Captain *Henchman* after a long and tedious March, came to the Head-Quarters, and informed that he came upon a Place where the Enemy had newly been that Night, but were escaped out of his Reach: But that Night before they were determined of any other Motion, Captain *Hutchinson*¹²⁹ came up from *Boston* with new Orders for them to pass into *Narbaganset*, to treat with the Sachems there, and if it might be, to prevent their joining with *Philip*. Capt. *Cudworth*, by this Time was come up to the Head-Quarters, having left a Garrison of forty Men upon Mount-hope Neck. The next Morning was spent in Consultation how to carry on the Treaty; it was then resolved that

¹²⁸ Nicholas *Paige*, as his Surname stands to the *Narraganset* Treaty a few Pages forward. He was a *Boston* Gentleman whose Name frequently occurs in the History of the City, as well as in the Affairs of War

¹²⁹ Capt. Edward *Hutchinson*, who within a Month fell mortally wounded at *Wickabaug Pond*, as will be found narrated hereafter. Additional Facts and his Pedigree will be found in the *History and Antiquities of Boston*, 406.

they should go to make a Peace with a Sword in their [21] Hands, having no small Ground of Suspicion that the said *Narbagansets* might joyn with the Enemy, wherefore, they thought it necessary to carry all the *Massachusetts* Forces over into the *Narbaganset* Country, to fight them, if there should be need; Captain *Mosely* passed over by Water to attend Captain *Hutchinson* in his Dispatch; the other Companies with the Troopers riding round about: as they passed, they found the *Indians* in *Pophams* Country (next adjoining to *Philips* Borders) all fled, and their Wigwams without any People in them.

After they came to the *Narbaganset* Sachems, three or four Days were spent in a Treaty, after which a Peace was concluded on sundry Articles between the Messengers of *Connecticut* Colony, (who ordered to meet with those of the *Massachusetts*), and the Commanders of the Forces sent against *Philip*: Hostages were also given by the said *Narbagansets* for the Performance of the Agreement. A Copy of the said Agreement, and the Articles on which a Peace was concluded, here follow. It being always understood that *Plimouth* Colony was included in the said Agreement, although their Forces were not then present, but remained at Home near the Enemies Borders, to secure their Towns, and oppose *Philip* as there might be occasion, if he offered to make any new Attempt in the mean Time.¹³⁰

¹³⁰ " Among other Articles, the *Narragansets*, by their Agent, *Potucke*, urged that the English should not send any among them to preach

Articles, Covenants and Agreements had, made and concluded by and between Major Thomas Savage, Captain Edward Hutchinson, and Mr. Joseph Dudley, in behalf of the Government of the Massachusetts Colony, and Major Wait Winthrop, and Mr. Richard Smith, on behalf of Connecticut Colony on the one party, and Agamaug, Womph alias Corman, Taitson, Tawagefon, Councillors and Attornies to Canonicus; Ninigret, Matataog, old Queen Quaiapen, Quananhit and Ponapham the six present Sachims of the whole Narhaganfet Country on the other Party, refering to several Differences and Troubles lately risen between them; and for a final Conclusion of settled Peace and Amity between the said Sachims, their Heirs and Successors forever, and the Governours of the said Massachusetts and Connecticut, and their Successors in the said Governments for ever.

I. That all and every of the said Sachims shall from Time to Time carefully seize, and Living or Dead deliver unto one or other of the above said Governments, all and every of Sachim Philips Subjects whatsoever, that shall come [22] or be found within the Precints of any of their Lands, and that with greatest Diligence and Faithfulness.

II. That they shall with their utmost Ability use all Acts of Hostility against the said Philip and his Subjects, entring his Lands or any other Lands of the English, to

the Gospel, or call upon them to pray to God. But the English refusing to concede to such an Article, it was withdrawn, and a Peace concluded." — Gooking, *History Praying Indians*. But Mr. Gookin stumbled in this Statement, as will be seen by comparing it with the Treaty. What he probably meant

to say was that the *English* endeavored to include such an Article in the Treaty, but withdrew it owing to the Opposition of the Narragansetts. It is rather singular, however, that Potock's name is not to the Treaty, as the obnoxious Article was withdrawn. See *Old Indian Chronicle*, 111.

kill and destroy the said Enemy, until a Cessation from War with the said Enemy be concluded by both the above said Colonies.

III. *That the said Sachims, by themselves and their Agents, shall carefully search out and deliver all stoln Goods whatsoever taken by any of their Subjects from any of the English, whether formerly or lately, and shall make full Satisfaction for all Wrongs or Injuries done to the Estate of any of the several Colonies, according to the Judgment of indifferent Men, in Case of Dissatisfaction between the Offendors and the offended Parties, or deliver the Offendors.*

IV. *That all Preparations for War, or Acts of Hostility against any of the English Subjects, shall for ever for the future cease; together with all Manner of Thefts, Pilferings, killing of Cattel, or any Manner of Breach of Peace whatsoever, shall with utmost Care be prevented, and instead thereof, their Strength to be used as a Guard round about the Narhaganset Country for the English Inhabitants Safety and Security.*

V. *In Token of the above said Sachims Reality in this Treaty and Conclusion, and for the Security of the several English Governments and Subjects, they do freely deliver unto the above said Gentlemen, in the behalf of the above said Colonies John Wobequob, Weowthim, Pewkes, Weenew, four of their near Kinsmen and choice Friends, to be and remain as Hostages¹³¹ in several Places of the English Jurisdictions, at the appointment of the Honourable Governours, of the above said Colonies, there to be civilly treated, not as Prisoners, but otherwise at their Honours Discretion, until the above said Articles are fully accomplished to the Satisfaction of the several Governments, the Departure of any of them in the mean Time to be accounted Breach of the Peace, and these present Articles.*

¹³¹ What became of these Hostages does not appear.

VI. *The said Gentlemen in Behalf of the Governments to which they do belong, do engage to every the said Sachims and their Subjects, that if they or any of them shall seize and bring into either the above said English Governments, or to Mr. Smith, Inhabitant of Narhaganfet, Philip Sachim alive, he or they so delivering, shall receive for their Pains, forty Trucking-cloth Coats; in Case they bring his Head, they shall have twenty like good Coats paid them: for every living Subject of said Philips so delivered, the Deliverer shall receive two Coats, and for every Head one Coat, as a Gratuity for their Service herein, making it appear to Satisfaction, that the Heads or Persons are belonging to the Enemy, and that they are of their Seizure.* [23]

VII. *The said Sachims do renew and confirm unto the English Inhabitants or others, all former Grants, Sails, Bargains or Conveyances of Lands, Meadows, Timber, Grass, Stones, or whatsoever else the English have heretofore bought or quietly possessed and enjoyed, to be unto them, and their Heirs, and Assigns for ever; as also all former Articles made with the Confederate Colonies.*

Lastly, The said Councillors and Attorneys do premeditatedly, seriously, and upon good Advice, Covenant, Conclude and Agree all abovesaid solemnly, and call God to witness they are, and shall remain true Friends to the English Government, and perform the above said Articles punctually, using their utmost Endeavours, Care and Faithfulness therein: In Witness whereof they have set their Hands and Seals.

Petaquanscot July 15, 1675.

Signed, Sealed and Delivered in the Presence of
 Tawageson his Mark C.
 Taytson his Mark D.
 us Underwritten, being Agamaug his Mark T.

carefully interpreted to *Wampsh*, alias *Corman* his
the said *Indians* before Mark X,
fealing.

Daniel Henchman.

Thomas Prentice.

Nicholas Paige.

Joseph Stanton Interpreter.

Henry Hawlawes.

Pocot Bukow.

*Job Neff.*¹³²

During this Treaty of Peace with the *Narhagansets*, Captain *Cudworth* with the Forces of *Plymouth* under his Command, found Something to do nearer Home, though of another Nature as it proved, *ſc.* to make War whilst the other were (as they thought) making Peace: in the first Place therefore he dispatched Captain *Fuller* (joyning Lieutenant *Church* together with him in Commission) with fifty in his Company to *Pocassett*, on the same Account, as the other went to *Narbaganſet*, either to conclude a Peace with them, if they would continue Friends, and give Hostages for the Confirmation thereof, or fight them if they should declare themselves Enemies, and join with *Philip*; himself intending to draw down his Forces to *Rehoboth*, to be ready for a speedy March to *Taunton*, and so down into the other Side of the Country; upon the News that some of the Enemy were burning and spoiling

¹³² These three last Names represent friendly Indians, doubtless, who accompanied the Commissioners as guides.

of *Middleburrough* and *Dartmouth*, two small villages lying in the Way [24] betwixt *Pocasset* and *Plimouth*. Upon Thursday, July 7,¹³³ Captain *Fuller* with Captain *Church* went into *Pocasset* to seek after the Enemy, or else as Occasion might serve to treat with those *Indians* at *Pocasset*, with whom Mr. *Church* was very well acquainted, always holding good Correspondence with them. After they had spent that Day and most of the Night, in traversing the said *Pocasset Neck*, and Watching all Night in a House which they found there, yet could hear no Tidings of any *Indians*; infomuch that Captain *Fuller* began to be weary of his Design: Mr. *Church* in the mean while assuring him, that they should find *Indians* before it were long: yet for greater Expedition they divided their Company, Captain *Fuller* taking down towards the Sea-side, where it seems after some little Skirmishing with them, wherein one Man only received a small Wound,¹³⁴ he either saw or heard too many *Indians* for himself and his Company to deal with, which made him and them betake themselves to an House near the Water-side, from whence they were fetched off by a Sloop before Night to *Road Island*. Captain *Church* (for so may he well be stiled after this Time) marched further into the *Neck*, imagining that if there were *Indians* in the *Neck* they should

¹³³ If they went on the 7th of July, that was Wednesday. The Affair is particularly detailed by Church in the *Entertaining History*, but in his usual disregard of Dates.

¹³⁴ Church, p. 47, Edition 1827, says two of Fuller's Men were wounded.

find them about a Peaf-field not far off; as soon as ever they came near the said Field, he espied two *Indians* in the Peafe, who also had at the same Time espied him, and presently making some kind of Shout, a great Number of *Indians* came about the Field, pursuing the said Capt. *Church* and his Men in great Numbers to the Sea-side: there being not above fifteen with *Church*, yet seven or eight Score of the *Indians* pursuing after them. Now was a fit Time for this young Captain¹³⁵ and his small Company to handfel their Valour upon this great Rout of *Indians*, just ready to devour them: But Victory stands no more in the Number of Soldiers, than Verity in the Plurality of Voices: and although some of these fifteen had scarce Courage enough for themselves, yet their Captain had enough for himself, and some to spare for his Friends, which he there had an Opportunity of improving to the Full. When he saw the Hearts of any of his Followers to fail, he would bid them be of good Courage and fight stoutly, and (possibly by some divine Impression upon his heart) assured them that not a Bullet of the Enemy should hurt any of them, which one of the Company, more dismayed than the rest, could hardly believe, till he saw the Proof of it in his own Person; for the

¹³⁵ Mr Church was thirty-six Years of Age, according to the In- scription on his Monument. See his Life in *Entertaining History*.

Captain perceiving the Man was not able to fight, made him gather Rocks together for a kind of Shelter and Barricado for the rest, that must either of necessity fight or fall by the Enemies. It chanced as this faint hearted Soldier had a flat Stone in his Arms, and was carrying it to the Shelter that he was making [25] upon the Bank, a Bullet of the Enemy was thus warded from his Body, by which he else must have perished, which Experience put new Life into him, so as he followed his Business very manfully afterwards; in-
somuch that they defended themselves under a small hastily made up Defence, all that Afternoon, not one being either slain or wounded, yet it was certainly known that they killed at least fifteen of their Enemies: and at the last, when they had spent all their Ammunition, and made their Guns unserviceable by often firing, they were fetched all off by Capt. *Goldings*¹³⁶ Sloop, and carried safe to *Road-Island* in despite of all their Enemies; yea, such was the bold and undaunted Courage of this Champion, Capt. *Church*, that he was not willing to leave any Token behind of their flying for want of Courage, that in the Face of his Enemies he went back to fetch his Hat, which he had left at a Spring, whither the

¹³³ Captain Roger Goulden or Golding of Rhode-Island. In October of the following Year, Plymouth Colony granted him one hundred Acres of Land at Seconet, he having, say the Records, "ap-

proved himself to be our constant, reall Friend in the late Warr."— Though a prominent Inhabitant of New-England his Name is not in the great *New-England Gen. Dictionary*.

extream Heat of the Weather, and his Labour in fighting had caused him to repair for the quenching of his Thirst an hour or two before.¹³⁷ It seems in the former Part of the same-Day, five Men coming from *Road-Island*, to look up their Cattel upon *Pocasset Neck*, were assaulted by the same *Indians*, and one of the five was Capt. *Churches* Servant, who had his Leg broke in the Skirmish, the Rest hardly escaping with their Lives: this was the first Time that ever any mischief was done by the *Indians* upon *Pocasset Neck*. Those of *Road-Island* were hereby alarmed to look to themselves, as well as the Rest of the English of *Plimouth*, or the *Massachusetts-Colony*.

This Assault rather heightned and increased, than daunted the Courage of Capt. *Church*; for not making a cowardly Flight, but a fair Retreat, which Providence offered him by the Sloop aforesaid, after his Ammunition was spent, he did not stay long at *Road-Island*, but halted over to the *Massachusetts* Forces, and borrowing three Files of Men of Capt. *Henchman* with his Lieutenant, Mr. *Church* and he returned again to *Pocasset*, where they had another Skirmish with the Enemy, wherein some few of them, fourteen or fifteen were slain, which struck such a Terror into *Philip*, that he betook himself to the Swamps about *Pocasset*, where he lay hid till the Return of

¹³⁷ This Battle was fought in a Territory, now the south Part of Peaf-field at a Place called by the Tiverton. The Author probably had Indians, *Punkateeset*, a considerable his Account from Church himself.

the Rest of the Forces from the *Narhagansets*, like a wild Boar kept at Bay by this small Party, till more Hands came up.

Thus were the *Plimouth* Forces busied, during the Time of the Treaty with the *Narhagansets*, which being issued as it was.

On Friday *July 15*, Our Forces marched for, and arrived at *Reboboth*, where having no intelligence of the Enemy nearer than a great Swamp on *Pocassit*, eighteen Miles from *Taunton*; ¹³⁸ they marched next day twelve Miles to a House at *Matapoiset* (a small Neck of Land in the bottom [26] of *Taunton Bay*, in the mid Way between *Mount-Hope* and *Pocassit Neck*) from whence they marched for *Taunton*, *July 17*, whither after a tedious March of twenty Miles they came in the Evening, and found the People generally gathered into eight Garrison Houses :

On Monday *July 18*, they marched eighteen Miles before they could reach the Swamp where the Enemy was lodged : as soon as ever they came to the Place, *Plimouth* Forces being now joined with them, our Soldiers resolutely entred in amongst the Enemies, who took the Advantage of the thick Underwood, to make a Shot at them that first entred, whereby five were killed outright, seven more wounded, some of whose

¹³⁸ It was seven Miles in Extent, according to our Author, but I know of no such Extent of Swamp Territory in that Region, and I have traveled there pretty exten-

sively. It may be explained by presuming that the flat Country lying between *Plymouth* and *Narhaganset*, generally full of Brake and other Fern, is to be understood.

Wounds proved mortal : After the first Shot, the Enemy presently retired deeper into the Swamp, deserting their Wigwams (about an hundred in all) newly made of green Barks, so as they would not burn : in one of them they found an old Man, who confessed that *Philip* had been lately there : having spent some Time in searching the Swamp ; and tired themselves to no Purpose (yet it was said, one Half Hour more would have at that Time utterly subdued *Philip* and all his Power), the Commander in Chief (Night drawing on apace) not thinking it Safe to tarry longer in so dangerous a Place (where every One was in as much Danger of his Fellows as of his Foes, being ready to fire upon every Bush they see move (supposing *Indians* were there)¹³⁹ ordered a Retreat to be founded, that they might have Time to dispose of their dead and wounded Men, which accordingly was attended : *Plimouth* Forces who had entred the Rear, retreating in the Front. It was judged, that the Enemy being by this Means brought into a Pound, it would be no hard Matter to deal with them, and that it would be Needleless Charge to keep so many Companies of Soldiers together to wait upon such an inconsiderable Enemy, now almost as good as taken :

¹³⁹ "Our Men when in that hideous Place, if they did but see a Bush stir, would fire presently, whereby it is verily feared they did sometimes unhappily shoot English Men instead of Indians." — I.

Mather, *Brief History*, 62.—It is said that the Indians encased themselves in green Boughs, and thus deceived their Pursuers. Their Device of stalking is well known. See C. Mather, in *Brief History*, 63.

whereupon most of the Companies belonging to the *Massachusetts* were drawn off, only Capt. *Henchman* with an hundred Foot being left there, together with *Plimouth* Forces, to attend the Enemies Motion, being judged sufficient for that End.¹⁴⁰ Major *Savage*, Capt. *Paige* with Capt. *Mosely* and their Companies, returned to *Boston* : Capt. *Prentice* with his Troop were ordered toward *Mendham*, where it seems about the middle of July¹⁴¹ some *Indians*, wishing well to *Philips* Design, had made an Assault upon some of the Inhabitants, as they were at their Labour in the Field, killing five or six of them : as soon as they had done, flying away into the Woods, so as they could not easily be pursued : The Inhabitants of the same Village, lying so in the Heart of the Enemies Country, began to be discouraged, so as within a little Time after they forsook the Place, abandoning their Houses to the Fury of [27] the Enemy, which by them were soon after turned into Ashes. But to return to King *Philip*, who

¹⁴⁰ The Army Transactions thus far are pretty sharply criticised by Capt. Church, and apparently with Justice. And probably his frank and honest outspoken Manner will explain why he was not sooner in important Commands.

¹⁴¹ July 14th, according to Dr. I. Mather, who writes the Name of the Town *Mendam*, and adds, "had we mended our ways as we should have done, this Misery might have been prevented !"

It is said five or six Persons were killed, in the Attack on Mendon, but we have the Name of only one of them, namely *Richard Post*. He lived on the Road from Mendon towards Sherburne, and a Portion of that Way, though long since discontinued, yet bears the Name of *Post's Lane*. Mendon was called *Nipmug* Plantation, but its Indian Name was *Quinsbepauge*. See Barber's *Hist. Colls.* 584 — Other Particulars a few Pages forward, also Table No. 8.

was now lodged in the great Swamp upon *Pocasset-Neck*, of seven Miles long : Capt. *Henchman* and the *Plimouth* Forces kept a diligent Eye upon the Enemy, but were not willing to run into the Mire and Dirt after them in a dark Swamp, being taught by late Experience how dangerous it is to fight in such dismal Woods, when their Eyes were muffled with the Leaves, and their Arms pinioned with the thick Boughs of the Trees, as their Feet were continually shackled with the Roots spreading every Way in those boggy Woods. It is ill fighting with a wild Beast in his own Den. They resolved therefore to starve them out of the Swamp, where they knew full well they could not long subsist. To that End they began to build a Fort,¹⁴² as it were to beleaguer the Enemy, and prevent his Escape out of the Place, where they thought they had him fast enough. *Philip* in the mean Time was not ignorant of what was doing without, and was ready therein to read his own Doom, so as if he tarried much longer there, he knew he should fall into their Hands, from whom he could expect no Mercy. The Case being therefore desperate, he resolved with an hundred or two of his best fighting Men to make an Escape by the Water, all Passages by the Land being sufficiently guarded by the English Forces. The Swamp

¹⁴² It was probably to this Circumstance that Church alludes in this Passage,—“The Army now lay still to cover the People from

Nobody, while they were building a Fort for Nothing.”—*Ent. Hist.* p. 7. Our Author is remarkably careful not to criticise Officials.

where they were lodged being not far from an Arm of the Sea, coming up to *Taunton*, they taking the Advantage of a low Tide, either waded over one Night in the End of *July*, or else wafted themselves over upon small Rafts of Timber very early before Break of Day,¹⁴³ by which Means the greatest Part of the Company escaped away into the Woods, leading into the *Nipmuck* Country, altogether unknown to the English Forces that lay encamped on the other Side of the Swamp. About an hundred or more of the Women and Children, which were like to be rather Burdensom than Serviceable, were left behind, who soon after resigned up themselves to the Mercy of the English. *Philips* Escape thus from *Pocasset* could not long be concealed after the Day appeared, there being much champaign Land through which he was to pass, so as being discovered to some of *Rehoboth*, the Inhabitants presently followed him, together with a Party of the Mohegans¹⁴⁴ (that a little before

¹⁴³ There was probably no Place where the River could have been forded below the Bridge which stands, or formerly stood, at the Head of Tide-water in *Taunton*. It is very likely, therefore, that the Indians crossed at or not far above the since celebrated *Dighton Rock*, now in the Town of *Berkley*, on such rude Rafts as they could fit up from Drift-wood confined together by Withs, always at Hand upon Margins of Streams.

¹⁴⁴ About the 26th of *July*, 50

Mohegans belonging to *Uncas*, with three of his Sons, arrived in *Boston*. They were under *Onoko*, the oldest Son, and were all armed with Guns. They came by Way of *Natick*, and were accompanied by two Englishmen, and several of the praying Indians of that Place. They brought a Letter to Governor *Leverett* and the Council from Mr. *James Fitch* of *Norwich*, informing them that *Uncas* had sent them to fight for the English.—*Gookin, Hist. Praying Indians.*

came to *Boston*, offering their Service against *Philip*, and were sent up into those Parts to be ordered by Capt. *Henchman*, but before they came to him were easily perswaded to go along with any of the English that were engaged in the Pursuit of *Philip*.) News also thereof was carried to Capt. *Henchman*, who as soon as he could get over with six Files of Men¹⁴⁵ (rowing hard all or most Part of the Day to get to Providence)¹⁴⁶ followed after the Enemy. [28] The *Mohegins* with the Men of *Rehoboth*, and some of *Providence*, came upon their Reer over Night, slew about thirty of them, took much Plunder from them, without any considerable Loss to the English.¹⁴⁷ Captain *Henchman* came not up to them (pursuing them only by the Tract) till the Skirmish was over; and having marched twenty two Miles that Day, was not well able to go any further that Night; on the other Hand, the Forces that came from *Rehoboth*, and that belonged to *Plimouth*, having left their Horses three

¹⁴⁵ Capt. *Henchman* was stationed in a Garrison on Pocasset. His "six Files" consisted of 68 Men.

¹⁴⁶ The Distance rowed could not have been much short of twenty Miles. They then had to march some seven or eight Miles to reach the Plymouth Forces near Rehoboth Plain.

¹⁴⁷ The Force which pursued Philip consisted of some ten Men from Taunton, 34 from Providence, and 30 from Seakonk. These with the Mohegan and Natick Indians made up the Number to 128. The Indians marched from Boston under the Conduct of Quarter-master Thomas Swift.—*Hist. Praying Indians*. See also Capt. Thomas' Letter, *Brief Hist.*, 227.

Miles off, could not go back to fetch them without much loss of Time; and therefore looking at it altogether bootless to go after them in the Morning, returned back the next Day, leaving Capt. *Henchman* with his six Files, and the *Mo-begins* to pursue the Chase to *Nipsachet*,¹⁴⁸ which he did the next Morning. Captain *Henchman*, that he might the better engage the *Mo-begins* to march with him thirty Miles, gave them half his Provision, and was himself recruited again by the Care of Capt. *Edmunds*,¹⁴⁹ of *Providence*; and Lieutenant *Brown*,¹⁵⁰ who brought Provision after him to the *Nipmuck* Forts. Mr. *Newman* the Minister of *Rehoboth* deserved not a little Commendation for exciting his Neighbors and Friends to pursue thus far after *Philip*, animating of them by his own Example and Presence:¹⁵¹ But what the Reason was why *Philip* was followed no further, it is better to suspend, than too critically enquire.¹⁵² This is now the third Time when a

¹⁴⁸ In the present Town of Burrillville, R. I. See Parsons's *Indian Names*.

¹⁴⁹ Captain Andrew Edmunds or Edmonds. Though he seems to have rendered important Services in this War, very little is said of him. Even his Christian Name does not appear in the *History of Rhode-Island*.

¹⁵⁰ Probably Mr. John Brown, "who lived near Philip" when the

War began. A Gentleman of good Standing and Connections.— See Bliss's *Hist. Rehoboth*, 78.

¹⁵¹ The Rev. Noah Newman. Mr S. C. Newman, a Native of Rehoboth, Antiquary and Genealogist of Rhode-Island, is a Descendant, and has given a Newman Pedigree in his *Historical Oration* of 1860. See p. 62-68.

¹⁵² There was as great a Feeling of Disappointment and Chagrin that *Philip* was allowed to escape,

good Opportunity for suppressing the Rebellion of the *Indians*, was put into the Hands of the English; but Time and Chance hapneth to all Men, so that the most likely Means are often frustrated of their desired End. All humane endeavours shall arrive at no other Success, than the Counsel of God hath preordained, that no Flesh might glory in their own Wisdom, but give unto God the Praise of all their Successes, and quietly bear whatever miscarriages he hath ordered to befall them. It appears by the Issue of these Things, that although this Wound was not incurable, yet much more Blood must be taken away before it could be healed. But by this Means *Philip* escaped away to the Westward, kindling the Flame of War in all the Western Plantations of the *Massachusetts* Colony wherever he came; so that by this fatal Accident, the fire that was in a likely Way to be extinguished, as soon almost as it began, did on the sudden break out through the whole Jurisdiction of the *Massachusetts*, both Eastward and Westward, endangering also the neighbour Colony of *Connecticut*, which hath also suffered somewhat by the Fury of this Flame, though not considerable to what the other Colonies have undergone.

While Things after this Manner proceeded in and about the Colony of *Plimouth*, and Commissioners of the Rest of the Colonies were con- [29]

as we have seen in our Time, when the defeated Rebel Army was permitted to escape after the Battle of Antietam.

sulting and advising what was to be done for preventing the Mischief threatned from spreading any further, fearing (as indeed there was too much Cause) that though *Philip* only appeared to make the first Attempt, yet more either already were, or soon might be purswaded to joyn with him in acting this bloody Tragedy.

It hath already been declared what hath been done for securing of the *Narhagansets*: those that were sent as Messengers on that Errand, always reported that the elder People were in Appearance, not only inclinable to Peace, but seemed very desirous thereof, insomuch as their two oldest Sachems expressed much Joy when it was concluded; but as since hath appeared, all this was but to gain Time, and cover their treacherous Intents and Purposes, that they might in the next Spring fall upon the English Plantations all at once, as some Prisoners lately brought in hath owned and confessed; nor have any of those *Indians* with whom the present War hath been, ever regarded any Agreements of Peace made with the English, further than out of Necessity and slavish Fear they were compelled thereunto, as may be seen by the Records of the United Colonies, from the Year 1643, to the present Time, notwithstanding all their fair Pretences;¹⁵³ for *Ninigret*, the old Sachem of the *Narhagansets*,

¹⁵³ This is quite an Acknowledgment of the Invalidity of Treaties with the Indians, but their sham Nature does not seem to have been as well understood by the Authorities as by the Historian.

who alone of all the rest of that Country-Sachems disowned the present War, and refused to have any Hand therein, yet it was proved to his Face before the Commissioners, in the Year 1646 and 1647, that he had threatned that he would carry on the War against the *Mohegins*, whatever were the Mind of the Commissioners, and that they would kill the English Cattel, and heap them up as high as their Wigwams, and that an English man should not stir out of his Doors to Piss, but they would kill him; all which they could not deny; yet did this old Fox make many Promises of Peace, when the Dread of the English, ever since the *Pequod*-War, moved them thereunto; foreseeing, as he is said to have told his Neighbours, that they would all be ruined if they made War with the English, as is since come to pass.¹⁵⁴ However the good Hand of God was seen in so ordering Things, that the *Narbagansets* were for the Present restrained from breaking out into open Hostility against the English at that Time when *Philip* began: which if they had then done, according to the Eye of Reason, it would have been very difficult, if possible, for the English to have saved any of their inland Plantations from being utterly destroyed. Thus hath God in his

¹⁵⁴ Notwithstanding the Leaning of this Passage is a little prejudicial to the Character of Ninigret, he was a valuable Ally to the Colonists. He was Chief of the Nianticks, a Tribe of the Narragansets, and,

with Miantonimo felt deeply the Wrongs of his Nation, but was too politic to allow those Wrongs to be the Cause of his own Ruin. In the *Book of the Indians* will be found much concerning him.

Wisdom suffered so much of the Rage of the Heathen to be let loose against his People here, as to become a Scourge unto them, that by the Wrath of Men, Praise might be yielded to his holy Name, yet hath he in his abundant Goodness restrained the Remainder that it should not consume.

[30] The next Thing in Order to be related, is the Calamity that befel the Village of *Brookefield*, which notwithstanding all the Care that was taken, fell into the Hands of the perfidious *Nipnet Indians*, as shall here in the next Place be declared; only as we pass along to remind the Reader in a few Words, what was the Issue of Captain *Henchmans* Pursuit of Philip: the *Plimouth Forces* being returned Home, as was said before, Captain *Henchman* with his six Files of Men, and the *Mohegin Indians*, having continued in the Pursuit of *Philip* till they had spent all their Provision, and tired themselves, yet never coming within Sight of *Philip*, the *Mohegin Indians* in their Company, directed them to *Mendham*, and then leaving them, returned also to their own Country. Captain *Henchman* in his March towards *Mendham* or at *Mendham*, met with Captain *Mosely* coming up to bring him Provision, and advertising him of what Success he had met with all in the Pursuit; they altered their Course, for Captain *Henchman* was sent down to the Governor and Council to know what they should do: they presently remanded him to *Pocasset*, and or-

dered him to stay there if there were need, or else to draw off, surrendering the Fort he had been building, to *Plimouth Forces*, which last was chosen by those of *Plimouth*; when upon Captain *Henchman* returning to *Boston*, was ordered to disband his Men. Capt. *Mosely* was ordered to march to *Quabaog* or *Brookfield*, where he continued a while, the other Captains sent up for the Relief of the People there, and to seek after the Enemy in those Woods, and after some Time spent in ranging the Country thereabouts, and not meeting with any of the Infidels, he with his Company came downwards, searching the Woods betwixt *Lancaster* (where a Man and his Wife with two Children were slain on the Lords Day Aug. 22.) and *Malberough*, where also a Lad keeping Sheep, was shot at by an *Indian* that wore a Sign, as if he had been a Friend:¹⁵⁵ the *Indian* was supposed to belong to the *Hassanemesit Indians*, at that Time confined to *Malberough*, where they had Liberty to dwell in a Kind of Fort. The next Day the Inhabitants sent to demand their Guns; Captain *Mosely* acquainted therewith,

¹⁵⁵ There were eight Persons killed at Lancaster on the 22d of August, while our Author seems to have heard of but four. Their Names are George Bennet, William Flagg, Jacob Farrar, Joseph Wheeler, and Mordecai McLeod, with his Wife and two of their Children. They were killed in different Parts of the Town. See Whitney's *History of Worcester County*, 37. Wil-

lard in Rolandson's *Narrative*, 20. "Those seven that were killed at Lancaster upon a Sabbath Day, and the one that was afterwards killed upon a Week Day, were slain and mangled in a barbarous Manner, by One-eyed-John and Marlborough's Praying Indians, which Capt. Mosely brought to Boston, as the Indians told me." Mrs. Rowlandson, *Narrative*, p. 6, ed. Boston, 1805.

marched to the Fort, and found much Suspicion against eleven of them, for Singing and Dancing, and having Bullets and Slugs, and much Powder hid in their Baskets; infomuch that eleven of them were sent down Prisoners to *Boston* upon Suspicion that they had an Hand in Killing the four at *Lancaster*, and Shooting at the *Malberough* Shepherd: But upon Tryal the said Prisoners were all of them quitted from the Fact, and were either released, or else were with others of that Sort, sent for better Security, and for preventing future Trouble in the like kind to some of the Islands below *Boston* towards *Nantasket*.¹⁵⁶

[31] About this Time Capt. *Mosely*, was sent with a Company of Soldiers to some *Indian* Plantations up *Merimack River*, as high as *Penny-cock*, but they found no *Indians* there; those that belonged to the Place having withdrawn themselves from their native Place, that they might not meddle in the present Quarrel, as is confidently believed, that *Woonalanset* the Sachim of that Country had resolved.¹⁵⁷ That Coast being clear of the Enemies, Capt. *Mosely* soon after was sent

¹⁵⁶ A List of those Indians, from original MS. Memoranda, captured and sent to Boston by Mosely, may be seen in the *Book of the Indians*, p. 265. Two of the most noted were Old Jethro and James-the-Printer. *

¹⁵⁷ A Sequel of the first Authority to this Expedition will be found in Gen. Gookin's *History of the Pray-*

ing Indians. Mosely's Company consisted of 100 Men. They burnt the Wigwams and destroyed the Provisions of Woonalanset's Men, but that Chief would not allow his Men to attack Mosely, which they might have done with Success from their Ambushments; and some of them requested to be permitted to do so.

up with his Men to the Towns Westward about *Hadly*,¹⁵⁸ if it might be, to subdue the Enemy : who a little before and at that Time, was doing all the Mischief he could in those Western Plantations, both by Fire and Sword.

But to return and pursue the Rebellious *Indians*, and keep Pace with them in our History, though our Forces as yet could never overtake them in the Woods. The Governour and Council of the *Massachusetts* were sensible of as much Danger from the *Nipnet-Indians*, as from the former : they being the inland Part of the Country betwixt the Sea-coast and *Connecticut* River Westward, and the Towns about the *Massachusetts Bay* Eastward ; whereupon some Persons that used to Trade with the said *Nipnets*, were sent to sound them, and find how they stood affected, for which also there was the more Reason, because they were always in Subjection to the Sachim of *Mount-Hope*, and so were the more like to engage in the present Quarrel, of which there had been sufficient Proof already : When on the 14th of *July*, some of the *Nipnet Indians* next bordering on *Philips* Country, set upon some of *Mendham*, (a Town situate Northward from *Mount Hope*, within 36 Miles from *Boston*), where they killed four or five Persons, which was the first Mischief

¹⁵⁸ Mosely was at *Nashua*, or as he writes it—*Nashowab*—on the 16th of August. He was then on his *Pennacook Expedition*, as at this Point he detached 26 of his Men

to serve under Capt. Beers (by Order of Maj. Willard), then on his March for *Springfield*. Mosely's Letter in Mather's *Brief History*, *Appendix*, 240, 241.

done upon any of the Inhabitants within the Jurisdiction of the *Massachusetts*,¹⁵⁹ acted as was said by one *Matoonas*, who was Father to him that committed a Murder soon after *Philips* first Rebellion, *An.* 1671.¹⁶⁰ The Messenger that was sent thither, brought Word back, that they found the said *Indians* wavering; the young were very Surly and Insolent, the elder ones shewing some Inclination to maintain the wonted Peace: Soon after, July 28, 1675, Capt. *Wheeler* was sent to assist Capt. *Hutchinson*, with a Party of twenty Horse to treat further about the Peace; who going first to *Quabaog* or *Brookfield*, a Town situate about sixty or seventy Miles from *Boston* in the Road of *Connecticut*, lying about 25 Miles from the said River, and not far distant from the chief Seat of the *Nipnet Indians*; the Inhabitants of the said *Brookfield* had been so deluded by those treacherous Villians, that they fearing no Danger, first obtained of those *Nipnets* the Promise of a Treaty upon the second of *August*, whereupon some of the Chief of the Town riding along unharmed [32] with the said *Wheeler* and *Hutchinson*, with their Party of Horse, until they came to the Place appointed; and finding no *Indians*, so secure were they, that they ventured along further to find the Infidels at their chief Town, never suspecting the least Danger, but when they had rode four or five Miles that Way, they fell

¹⁵⁹ See *Ante*, Note 141.

¹⁶⁰ This has Reference to the Murder of Zachary Smith, the Par

ticulars of which are fully detailed from original Manuscripts in the *Book of the Indians*, 263-4.

into an Ambush of two or three hundred *Indians*, laid in such a narrow Passage, betwixt a steep Hill on the one Hand, and an hideous Swamp on the other, that it was scarce possible for any of them to escape; eight of them being shot down upon the Place (whereof three were of *Brookfield*) and three mortally wounded, whereof Capt. *Hutchinson* was one. Capt. *Wheeler* was also near losing his Life, whose Horse was shot down under him, and himself shot through the Body, so that all Manner of Hopes to escape had been removed from him, had it not been for his Son, who was (by Gods good Providence) near or next unto him, being a Man of undaunted Courage (notwithstanding his own Arm was broken with a Bullet, yet) with great nimbleness and agility of Body dismounting himself, speedily mounted his Father upon his own Horse, himself getting upon another, whose Master was killed, by which Means they both escaped, and were afterwards cured. Much ado had those that were left alive to recover *Brookfield*, which in all Probability they had never done, (the common Road being waylaid with *Indians* on every Side, as was afterwards known,) had it not been for one¹⁶¹ well acquainted with those Woods, who led them in a By-path, by which Means they got thither a little before the *Indians*, who quickly came flocking

¹⁶¹ That *one* was a Praying Indian, and it is presumed that Mr. Hubbard could hardly have been ignorant of the Fact. See Gen.

Gookin's Account of the unfortunate Expedition to Quabaog, or *Brookfield*, and Capt. Wheeler's *Narrative*

into the Town, with full Intent to destroy it with Fire and Sword. But by special Providence the Inhabitants were all gathered to the principal House of the Village (there being scarce twenty in the Town) before the barbarous Miscreants came upon them, immediately setting Fire upon all the dwelling Houses with most of the other Buildings in the Town, save that one into which the Inhabitants were retired, the which they several Times attempted to burn, but were almost miraculously defeated in their Purpose by the immediate Hand of God. *In the Mount of the Lord it shall be seen.* For when they had for two Days assaulted that poor Handful of helpless People, both Night and Day pouring in Shot upon them incessantly with Guns, and also thrusting Poles with Fire-brands, and Rags dip'd in Brimstone tied to the Ends of them to fire the House; at last they used this devellish Strategem, to fill a Cart with Hemp, Flax and other combustible Matter, and so thrust it back with Poles together spliced a great Length, after they had kindled it; But as soon as it had begun to take Fire, a Storm of Rain unexpectedly falling, put [33] out the Fire, or else all the poor People, about seventy Souls, would either have been consumed by merciless Flames, or else have fallen into the Hands of their cruel Enemies, like Wolves continually yelling and gaping for their Prey.¹⁶²

¹⁶² Capt. Thomas Wheeler, so a Narration of it which was printed conspicuous in this Disaster, wrote the same Year of its Occurrence

Thus was that distressed Company strangely delivered, who have for ever Cause to say with the Psalmist, *Blessed be the Lord, who hath not given us a Prey to their Teeth: our Soul is escaped as a Bird out of the Snare of the Fowlers; the Snare is broken, and we are escaped.* For the next Night Major Willard,¹⁶³ by Accident hearing of the Danger the People were in, came with forty eight Dragoons to their Relief. The Occasion which brought Major Willard and Capt. Parker¹⁶⁴ of Groton with forty six more so timely to their Relief, was this: Major Willard in pursuance of his Commission from the Governour and Council, was upon Wednesday, *August* the 4th in the Morning, marching out after some *Indians* to the Westward to secure them; just as they were setting forth, some of *Malberough*, who had intelligence by those that were going to *Connecticut*, and forced to return, what distress Brookfield was in, and knowing of Major Willard's Purpose to go out that Morning from *Lancaster*, sent a Post to acquaint him therewith, which though it did not find him in the Town, yet overtook him be-

(1675), in a Quarto Pamphlet—now so rare that I know of but one Copy. It is reprinted in the second Volume of the Collections of the N. H. Historical Society. The Account in our Narrative is an Abstract of it. The Autograph of Capt. Wheeler is in the *History and Antiquities of Boston*.

¹⁶³ Major Simon Willard. The Night March for the Relief of

Brookfield, was one of the most gallant Achievements of the War, of which War the Major did not live to see the Close; dying at Charlestown, on the 24th of April following (1676).

¹⁶⁴ James Parker, an early Inhabitant of that Town. His Name stands first on the List of its Proprietors. See Butler's *History of Groton*, 26, 421.

fore he had gone above four or five Miles from the Place, whereupon, conceiving it more needful to Succour Brookfield in so eminent Danger, than to proceed further upon his intended Design; he altered his Course, and marched directly thither, being about thirty Miles¹⁶⁵ distant when the Tidings were brought him; so he arrived there that Night very seasonably, about an Hour after it was Dark, or else in Probability they had all perished before the Relief sent up from *Boston* could have reached them, which was not till three Days after. The Providence of God likewise in bringing in the said Major so safely, as well as seasonably to their Relief, was very remarkable. For the Indians had subtilly contrived to cut off all Relief sent, before it could come at them, by laying Ambushes, and placing their Scouts at two or three Miles distance round the Town: About an hundred of them were lodged at an House not far off in the Way toward *Boston*, to cut off any Succour that might come from thence: but it is supposed they were so intense upon the Project they were about for firing the House, concluding it would without fail take place, that either they did not mind their Business of watching, or making such a Noise for Joy thereof, that they did not hear their Sentinels when they shot off

¹⁶⁵ Dr. Cotton Mather says the Distance was 39 Miles. As the Way was through a dense primeval Forest, by Indian Paths, most, if not all the Way, the actual Distance could not be known. The Dr. copied Hubbard, very nearly. See I. Mather, *Brief History*, 70.

their Guns, at two Miles distance.¹⁶⁶ It is said that another Party of the *Indians*, let the Major and his Company purposely pass by them, without [34] out any Opposition, waiting for the Blow to be given at their first Approach near the House, then to have themselves fallen upon their Rear, and so to have cut them all off, before the Besieged understood anything thereof. But it pleased God so to order Things in Providence, that no Notice was taken of them by the Besiegers, nor were they at all discerned by them, till they had made themselves known to their Friends, and were admitted within the Court of Guard; which when the Enemy had Notice of, they poured in their Shot abundantly upon them, but they were now sheltered from the Danger thereof: only it seems their Horses were exposed to their Fury, so as many of them were maimed and killed, as were most of the Cattel belonging to the Inhabitants of the Place soon after. This honored Person, Major *Willard*, continued at *Brookfield* after this famous Exploit, for the preservation of the poor Besieged at *Brookfield*, divers Weeks, to order such Companies as were sent up that Way for the securing of the Plantations on that Side of the Country; and not long after he went

¹⁶⁶ Here is a striking Instance of a Looseness of Indian Discipline. Nothing but this, it would seem from the Histories of the Affair, saved the poor People in Brookfield from the very Jaws of the Demo-

niacs encompassing them. The 94 Men under Willard could have coped with any Number of the Indians in open Field, but were no Match for four or five Times his Number in the Woods.

himself also to *Hadly* upon the like Service of the Country in the present War. But after some Time spent in those Parts, he returned back to his own Place, to order the Affairs of his own Regiment, much needing his Presence, and leaving the Forces about *Hadly* under the Command of the Major of that Regiment.¹⁶⁷

But to return to what was in Hand before; after the *Indians* understood that Succours were come in to the Besieged, they fired all that they had left standing for their own Shelter while they had besieged the Place before mentioned, ran all away into their own Dens, in the neighbouring Woods; however it was confessed by one of themselves, that the Enemy had eighty of their Men killed and wounded in this Business.¹⁶⁸ But ere we pass any further in Pursuit of the History of these Matters, it will not be amiss to let the Reader understand the horrible perfidious and treacherous Dealing of these *Nipnet Indians*, who of all other had the least Reason as to any Pretence of Injury, yet did most deceitfully and barbarously joyn with *Philip* and his *Indians*, after they had been several Times sent unto by the Governour and Council of the *Massachusetts*, by the Advice of *Plimouth*, to have prevented their Rising as well

¹⁶⁷ Probably Major John Pinchon, of Springfield. But the Author anticipates Events.

¹⁶⁸ It is hardly to be supposed that their Loss could have amounted

to half that Number, as they fought behind Screens generally. Captives seldom gave reliable Accounts, but rather such as they supposed would please those into whose Hands they fell.

as the Rising of the *Narbagansets*, and also had faithfully promised not to meddle in the Quarrel, as may more fully appear by the Engagement under the Hands of their Sachims; some Time before Capt. *Hutchinson* and Capt. *Wheeler* were sent up to them which by Reason of the Haste and Unskillfulness of the Messengers on that Behalf sent, is not so fit for public View:¹⁶⁹ but the Account of it from their Return [35] under their Hand and Oath, July 24. 75, when Lieut *Ephraim Curtice* spake with five of the *Nipnet* Sachims,¹⁷⁰ four too many to govern so small a People: but lying upon the Head of the principal *Indian* Territories, they were divided into so many small Parties, two of whom, *viz.* *Sam* Sachim of *Weshacum*, and *Netaump*,¹⁷¹ were executed together afterward at *Boston*. All of them did at that Time solemnly renew their Covenant and Promise under their Hands to come to *Boston* to speak further with the Governour, instead of which, what they perfidiously did against Capt. *Hutchinson* and others, hath already been declared.

¹⁶⁹ I have not been able to satisfy myself who the "unskillful Messengers" referred to were. Probably *Ephraim Curtice* may have been one of them, and *Daniel Champney* another. See *Gookin's History of Praying Indians*.

¹⁷⁰ It would not be difficult to enumerate twice five *Nipnet* Sachims; but it is more difficult to assign to each his Sachedmdom, as they generally had different Places

of Residence, often to suit the Season of the Year. There was *Mawtump*, of *Quabaog* (*Brookfield*); *Ushkutugun* (*Sagamore Sam*), of *Weshacum* (*Lancaster*); *Sagamore John*, of *Pawtucket* (*Chelmsford*); *Old-Jethro* (*Tautamou*), of *Musketaquid* (*Concord*); *Matoonas*, of *Paka-choog* (*Brookfield*); *Monoco* (*One-eyed John*), of *Nashua* (*Lancaster*).

¹⁷¹ The same called *Mautamp* or *Mawtamp*, in other Accounts.

Upon the Report of this sad Disaster that befel the Inhabitants of *Brookfield*, Forces were sent up under the Command of Capt. *Lothrop* and others, to pursue after those *Indians* harbouring about those Places, and if it might be, to prevent them from joyning with the *Indians* upon *Connecticut* River, who as yet had not discovered themselves as willing to espouse *Philips* Interest, but rather made some Semblance to the Contrary. There was much Time spent by Major *Willard*, and several Companies of Soldiers left under his Command, about the *Nipnet* Country, but all to no Purpose; for partly by the Treachery of some of the *Indians* that came to their assistance, that seemed to favour the English, but rather acted in behalf of the Enemy, partly by the Subtilties of the Enemies themselves, who could easily by their Scouts discern the Approach of our Soldiers, and by the Nimbleness of their Feet, escape them: Our Soldiers could never meet with any of them, but only by that Means driving them further Westward, they gathered all the *Indians* they could to their Party about *Pecomptuck*, alias *Dearfield*, *Swamscot*,¹⁷² and *Squakheag*,¹⁷³ where were some Plantations of the English newly began, whom they assaulted in the next Place, and did what Mischief they could upon them.

¹⁷² Perhaps the famous Falls in the Connecticut, now called Turner's Falls.

¹⁷³ Northfield. Sometimes spelt

Squakheag. The Tract was granted before Philip's War, but did not receive the Name of Northfield till some Time after.

It is here to be noted, that although that worthy Patriot and experienced Soldier Major *Willard*, hearing of the distress of *Brookfield* by Some that were travelling to *Connecticut*, was the first that relieved the distressed People of *Quabaog* or *Brookfield*, yet Major *Pinchon* of *Springfield* also by Accident hearing of their Calamity, had not only sent Word thereof to *Hartford* (from whom he received a Supply of five and twenty or thirty Soldiers under Capt. *Watts*)¹⁷⁴ but did also send a Band of Men under Lieut. *Cooper*,¹⁷⁵ (who was afterwards villanously slain by *Springfield Indians*,) who with those sent from *Hartford*, and some Indians belonging to *Springfield* (seemingly forward to help the English) made up four Score or thereabouts; these marched down to *Brookfield* the same Day that Capt. *Lothrop* and Capt *Beers* came up from the [36] *Massachusetts*, who having spent some Time in searching the Woods about *Springfield*, and finding none of the *Indians*, did the next Day march up to a Place called *Meminisset*¹⁷⁶ by the *Indians*, where Capt. *Hutchinson* and Capt. *Wheeler* were assaulted, and finding no Sign of any *Indians* amongst those Woods

¹⁷⁴ Capt. Thomas Watts.—*Colonial Records of Connecticut*, ii, 346, where his Orders from the Council of Connecticut may be seen.

See Mather, *Brief Hist*, 97, 98.—Other Particulars a few Pages onward.

¹⁷⁵ Lieut. Thomas Cooper belonged to Deerfield. He was killed in passing from one Garrison to another, Oct 5, following, (1675.)

¹⁷⁶ In Brookfield near Wickabang Pond. A Name spelt a great many different Ways, as may be seen in a Note to Mather's *Brief History*, 236.

and Swamps, the Company that came from *Springfield* left the other Soldiers (who returned to their Quarters at *Brookfield*) and went up themselves further Northward, at least twenty Miles from the said *Brookfield*; and finding no Track of *Indians* in all those Woods, they returned back to *Springfield*, leaving enough to defend the People of *Brookfield*, and the Garrison there.

By this it appears, that the *Indians* by this occasion were driven more Westward into the Woods between *Hadly* and *Squakeag*, where they soon effected their Design, viz. to leaven the *Indians* on that Side the Country with the same Prejudice and Malice against the English, with which they themselves were (though without Cause) imbittered; for in a few Days, the Device took place amongst *Hadly* and *Dearfield Indians*, and was presently put in Execution by the said *Indians*, withdrawing from the English, and assisting *Philip* and the *Nipnets*, to spoil and destroy all the Towns Westward, as soon after came to pass: yet at the First, some of the *Hadly Indians* pretended real Friendship to the English, and offered themselves to fight against *Philip*; but the *Mohegin Indians* that came afterward from *Hartford*, began to suspect the Treachery of the other, and told the English plainly, that no good would be done, while any of that Company went along with them in Pursuit of the Enemy; for as was said, they would always give some Shout when they came near the Ene-

my, as if they should thereby wish them to look to themselves; infomuch that the said *Hadly Indians* fell into great Suspicion with the English, and for a Proof of their Fidelity, they were required to bring in their Arms to the English, but upon that Motion they delayed a little, but that very Night they fled away from their Dwellings, which was in a wooden Fortification, within a Mile of Hatfield, whereby they plainly discovered that they had secretly plotted to joyn with *Philip's* Party, as far as they had an Opportunity to do them any eminent Service: Some think the English failed in Point of Prudence, not managing that Business so warily as they might, which if they had done, their Defection had been prevented; but it is most probable that *Philip* had hired them to own his Quarrel, by sending them Gifts in the Spring; and that the Body of the said *Indians* were most readily inclined thereunto: But the Sachims and the elder Ones of them, seemed loth at first to engage against the English. In conclusion, when they had so [37] fallly left their Dwellings, and were running after *Philip* and the *Nipnet Indians* (at that Time harboured in those Woods) the English were so provoked, that were under Capt. *Lotbrop* and Capt. *Beers*, that they pursued after them very early the next Morning, and overtook them about ten Miles above *Hatfield* at a Place called *Sugar-Loaf Hill*, and had a small Skirmish with them, wherein there were nine or ten of the English

slain, and about twenty six *Indians*:¹⁷⁷ yet the Rest escaped, and so joyned with *Philip* and his Company; presently after which Accident, they were so emboldened, that upon the first of *September*, about seven Days after, they set upon *Dearfield*, killed one Man¹⁷⁸ and laid most of the Houses in Ashes. About two or three Days after they fell upon *Squakeag*, another new Plantation, fifteen Miles higher up the River, above *Dearfield*, where they killed nine or ten of the People, the Rest had escaped into the Garrison House.¹⁷⁹

The next Day,¹⁸⁰ this Disaster not being known, Capt. *Beers*, for Fear of the Worst, with thirty six Men, was sent up to the said *Squakeag*, with Supplies both of Men and Provision, to se-

¹⁷⁷ This was on August 26th.—“After a while, our Men, after the Indian Manner, got behind Trees and watcht their Opportunities to make Shots at them. The Fight continued about three Hours. We lost six Men upon the Ground, though one was shot in the Back by our own Men, a Seventh died of his Wounds coming Home, and two died the next Night, nine in all, of nine several Towns, every one lost a Man.”—Letter of the Rev. John Russell of Hadley, in Mather’s *Brief History*, 77.

¹⁷⁸ James Egleston. — Williams’ *Redeemed Captive, Appendix*, 152, edit., 1800. He was killed while looking for his Horse.—*Brief History*, 78

¹⁷⁹ According to Mr. Russell, before cited, this Affair happened on the 25th of August, which is no doubt correct. Mr. Hubbard was confused in regard to the various Encounters. The Names of those killed are Azariah Dickinson, James Lewis, Samuel Mafon, Richard-Fellows, John Plummer, Mark Pitman, Joseph Pearson [Parsons] Matthew Scales and William Cluffe.—Russell in Coffin’s *Newbury*, 389.

¹⁸⁰ August 26.—Gen. Hoyt, *Antiquarian Researches*, 103-4, has gone over these Events with the Eye of a Soldier, and added some Facts respecting Localities. He has not been able to give Dates, always so important.

cure the small Garrison there; but before they came very near to the Town, they were set upon by many hundreds of the *Indians* out of the Bushes by the Swamp-side, of whom Capt. *Beers* (who was known to fight valiantly to the very last) with about twenty of his Men,¹⁸¹ were by this sudden Surprisal there slain, the Rest flying back to *Hadly*. Here the barbarous Villians showed their insolent Rage and Cruelty, more than ever before, cutting off the Heads of some of the Slain, and fixing them upon Poles near the Highway; and not only so, but one (if no more) was found with a Chain hooked into his under Jaw, and so hung up on the Bow of a Tree, ('tis feared he was hung up alive) by which Means they thought to daunt and discourage any that might come to their Relief, and also to terrifie those that should be Spectators with the Beholding so sad an Object: insomuch that Major *Treat* with his Company, going up two Days after, to fetch off the Residue of the Garrison, were solemnly affected with that doleful Sight, which made them make the more Hasten to bring down the Garrison, not waiting for any Opportunity to take Revenge upon the Enemy, having but an hundred with him, too few for such a Purpose. Capt. *Appleton* going up after him, met him coming down, and would willingly have per-

¹⁸¹ It will be seen, that in his Table; No. 11, the Author found the exact Number to be 19. The Place where the Fight happened is in the Town of Northfield, and known as Beers's Plain, to this Day, and an Eminence to which he retreated, as Beers's Mountain.

swaded them, to have turned back, to see if they could have made any Spoil upon the Enemy ; but the greatest Part advised to the Contrary, so that they were all forced to return with what they could carry away, leaving the Rest for a Booty to the Enemy, who shall ere long pay a sad Reckoning for their Robberies and Cruelties, in the [38] Time appointed ; but the sufferings of the English were not as yet come to their Height : for after they were come to *Hadly*, the Commander in Chief¹⁸² taking Counsel with the Officers of the Soldiers, ordered them that were then present to garrison the Towns about ; some to be at *Northampton*, *Hatfield*, *Dearfield*, and some to remain at *Hadly* where were the Head Quarters of the English. But perceiving that little Good was to be done upon the Enemy in those Parts, it was agreed that what Corn was left at *Dearfield*, being threshed out as well as they could in those Tumults (about three thousand Bushels was supposed to be there standing in Stacks) should be brought to *Hadly*, and wait further Time to fight the Enemy. It came to C. *Lothrop's* Turn, or rather it was his Choice with about eighty Men to guard several Carts laden with Corn, and other Goods ; the Company under Capt. *Mosely* then quartering at *Dearfield* intended that Day to pursue after the

¹⁸² It is not certain who is meant by the "Commander-in-Chief." I infer that Gen. Hoyt considered he was Major Treat.

Enemy. But upon *September* 18, that most fatal Day, the Saddest that ever befel *New-England*, as the Company were marching along with the Carts (it may be too securely) never apprehending Danger so near, were suddenly set upon, and almost all cut off (not above seven or eight escaping); which great Defeat came to pass by the unadvised Proceeding of the Captain (who was himself slain in the first Assault) although he wanted neither Courage nor Skill, to lead his Souldiers: but having taken up a wrong Notion about the best Way and Manner of fighting with the *Indians* (which he was always wont to argue for) *viz.* that it were best to deal with the *Indians* in their own Way, *sc.* by skulking behind Trees, and taking their Aim at single Persons, which is the usual Manner of the *Indians* fighting one with another; but herein was his great Mistake, in not considering the great Disadvantage a smaller Company would have in dealing that way with a greater Multitude; for if five have to deal with one, they may surround him, and every one to take his Aim at him, while he can level at but one of his Enemies at a time: which gross Mistake of his, was the Ruine of a choice Company of young Men, the very Flower of the County of *Essex*, all called out of the Towns belonging to that County, none of which were ashamed to speak with the Enemy in the Gate: their dear Relations at Home mourning for them, like *Rachel* for her Children, and would not be comforted,

not only because they were not, but because they were so miserably lost.¹⁸³ (The like Mistake was conceived to be the Reason of the Loss of the former Persons, slain with the said *Lothrop*, pursuing the Indians that ran away from *Hadly*, and the twenty slain with Capt. *Beers* Men, who betook themselves at first to their Trees, and at the last a few got to their Horses soon after their Captain was [39] shot down.) For had he ordered his Men to march in a Body, as some of his Fellow-commanders advised, either backward, or forward, in Reason they had not lost a Quarter of the Number of those that fell that Day by the Edg of the Sword. For the *Indians*, notwith-

¹⁸³ "Last Year (1835) a splendid Celebration was held at Bloody Brook, in Commemoration of the Event, and an Oration was pronounced by our Prince of Orators, the present Governor of this Commonwealth, His Excellency EDWARD EVERETT, LL. D." Note in the *Book of the Indians*, 216. Alas, the eloquent Lips of the great Orator are still in Death! It is just thirty-one Years since I placed in his Hands in my own Library certain rare Books which he desired to consult in making up his Address. Thirty Years from that Time I attended his Funeral, which has just taken place. And here is a fitting Place for a few prophetic Words which he uttered at the Close of that Address: "Ages shall pass away; the majestic Tree that overshadows us shall wither and sink before the

Blast, and we who are now gathered beneath it, shall mingle with the honored Dust we eulogize, but the 'Flowers of Essex' shall bloom in undying remembrance; and with every Century, these Rites of Commemoration shall be repeated as the Lapse of Time shall continually develope, in rich Abundance, the Fruits of what was done and suffered by our Fathers." *Bloody Brook Address*, 37.

On the same Occasion Mrs. Sigourney sang of the vanished Red Race:

"Where are those Warriors, red and grim,
Who from the Thicket sprang,
And aim'd their deadly Weapons sure
And mocked the Torture-pang?
Where are those flying Forms, that lov'd
The bounding Deer to trace,
And stay the sunward Eagle's Flight?
Where is that forest Race?"

standing their Subtilty and Cruelty, durst not look an *Englisbman* in the Face in the open Field, nor ever yet were known to kill any Man with their Guns, unless when they could lie in wait for him in an Ambush, or behind some Shelter, taking Aim undiscovered; so that although it was judged by those that escaped, that there was seven or eight hundred *Indians* at least that encountered that Company of eighty of *Englisb*,¹⁸⁴ yet if they had kept together in a Body, and fought marching, they might have escaped the Numbers of the Enemy, with little Loss in comparison of what they sustained. For the valiant and successful Captain *Mosely*, and his Lieutenant,¹⁸⁵ coming (though too late) to their Rescue, marched through and through that great Body of *Indians*, and yet came off with little or no Loss in Comparison of the other. And having fought all those *Indians* for five or six Hours upon a March, lost not above two Men all that while,¹⁸⁶ nor received other Damage except that eight or nine were wounded, who

¹⁸⁴ The Locality and surrounding Country of that great Disaster are given with Minuteness by Gen. Hoyt in his *Researches*, 109. He being a Resident of Deerfield, and familiar with the Town and adjacent Country, his Statements are no doubt strictly accurate.

¹⁸⁵ There were two Lieutenants, John Pickering of Salem, and Perez Savage of Boston, both mentioned by the Author presently. I remem-

ber inquiring of my late estimable Friend, John Pickering of Boston, the able and learned Lexicographer, if he knew who this Lieut. Pickering was? He informed me that he was his Ancestor, and that he was the sixth Generation from the Lieutenant.

¹⁸⁶ Mosely had with him several of his old Privateers, some of whose savage Butcheries are noticed in the *Book of the Indians*, and the *Appendix* to Mather's *Brief History*.

were carried to their Quarters at Night at *Hatfield*, whereas if these had proceeded in the same Way of Fighting as Captain *Lothrop* did in the Morning, they might have been surrounded, and so have been served as the former were; but God had otherwise determined in his secret Council, and therefore that was hid from the one, which was a Means to preserve the other Company.

Other Relief was also seasonably sent in, *viz.* a Company of English and *Mobegin* or *Pequod Indians*¹⁸⁷ under the Command of Major *Treat*, who was in the Morning marching another Way, *viz.* up toward *Squakeag* to seek after the Enemy that Way, with about an hundred Soldiers, *Indians* and *English*, upon whose Approach, the Enemy, pretty well acquainted by this last Encounter with the Valour of the *English*, immediately went clear away, giving Major *Treat* and Captain *Mosely*, who returned to *Dearfield* that Night, an Opportunity to bury the Slain the next Day. As Captain *Mosely* came upon the *Indians* in the Morning, he found them stripping the Slain, amongst whom was one *Robert Dutch*,¹⁸⁸ of *Ipswich*, having been

¹⁸⁷ The Assistance of these Indians is nowhere duly acknowledged. They were under the Chief *Attawamhood*, the third Son of *Uncas*. He usually went under the Name of *Joshua*. He was "Commissionated" by the Council of Connecticut, on the 24th of August (1675). The Council remarking upon his "Readiness to be serviceable to the English

in the present War," &c. *Colonial Records of Conn.* Mr. Pyncheon had urged the Employment of Friendly Indians, and on the 8th of September, 1675, wrote to Gov. Leverett respecting it. See his Letter in *Appendix to the Brief History*, 242.

¹⁸⁸ He is noticed by Savage, who says "he was Son of Osman Dutch,

forely wounded by a Bullet that rased to his Skull, and then mauled by the Indian Hatchets, was left for dead by the *Salvages*, and stript by them of all but his Skin; yet when Capt. *Mosely* came near, he almost miraculously, as one raised from the Dead, came towards the *English*, to their no small Amazement; by whom being received and cloathed, he was carried off to the next Garrison, and is [40] living and in perfect Health at this Day. May he be to the Friends and Relations of the Rest of the Slain an Emblem of their more perfect Resurrection at the last Day to receive their Crowns among the Rest of the Martyrs that have laid down and ventured their Lives, as a Testimony to the Truth of their Religion, as well as Love to their Country.

This fore Defeat of Capt. *Lothrop* and his Men, was the more to be lamented, in that (falling out so soon after two other¹⁸⁹ of the like Nature) it so emboldened the Enemy, that they durst soon after adventure upon considerable Towns, though well garrisoned with Soldiers, and gave them Occasion of most insolently braving the Garrison at *Dearfield* the next Day,¹⁹⁰ hanging up the Gar-

it is said;" that his Father was of Gloucester, who died Dec. 1684, aged 100 or more, "as with greater Confidence than Probability is said." But most of this Dubiousness is dispelled in Mr. Babson's *History of Gloucester*, 73. A curious Story is told in the *Old Indian Chronicle*, 29, about the way in which Dutch's Life was saved. Mr. Hubbard

doubtless had his Account from Dutch himself, and is therefore entirely reliable.

¹⁸⁹ The Disasters of Sugar-loaf-Hill and Muddy Brook (since called Bloody Brook).

¹⁹⁰ Sept. 19th. This Affair probably took place after Mosely had marched to the Relief of Capt. Lothrop.

ments of the English in Sight of the Soldiers, yet on the other Side of the River. However, it pleased God, who is always wont to remember his People in their low Estate, to put such a Restraint upon them, that when they passed very near the garrison House at *Dearfield* (wherein were not left above twenty seven Soldiers), their Captain using this Stratagem; to cause his Trumpet to sound, as if he had another Troop near by to be called together, they turned another Way and made no Attempt upon the House where that small Number was, which if they had done with any ordinary Resolution, so small a Handful of Men could hardly have withstood the Force of so many hundreds as were then gathered together.

What Loss the Enemy sustained by the Resistance of Capt. *Lothrop* and his Men (who no doubt being all resolute young Men, and seeing they should be forced by the hard Law of the Sword to forego their Lives, held them at as high a Rate as they could,) is not certainly known. It hath since been confessed by some of the *Indians* themselves, that they lost 96 of their Men that Day. Capt. *Moselys* Men coming suddenly upon them when they were Pillaging of the Dead, fell upon them with such a smart Assault, that they drove them presently into a Swamp, following them so close, that for seven Miles together, they fought them upon a March, charging them through and through. *Perez Savage*, and Lieutenant *Pickering*, his Lieutenants, deserving no

little Part of the Honour of that Day's Service, being sometimes called to lead the Company in the Front, while Capt. *Mosely* took a little Breath, who was almost melted with labouring, commanding, and leading his Men through the Midst of the Enemy.¹⁹¹

The Indians gathered together in those Parts, appearing so numerous, and, as justly might be supposed, growing more confident by some of their late Successes, and the Number of our Men being after this sad Rate diminished, Recruits also not being suddenly to be ex[41]pected, at so great a Distance as an hundred Miles from all Supplies, the Commander in chief with the Officers, saw a Necessity of flighting that Garrison at *Dearfield*, imploing the Forces they had to secure and strengthen the three next Towns below upon *Connecticut River*. And it was well that Counsel was thought upon; for now those wretched Caitiffs begin to talk of great Matters, hoping that by Degrees they might destroy all the Towns thereabouts, as they had already begun; their Hopes, no doubt, were not a little heightened by the Accession of the *Springfield Indians* to their Party, who had in Appearance all this Time

¹⁹¹ *Mosely's Battle with the Indians* was a drawn one. That Officer was retreating, leaving them Masters of the Field, when he was met by Major Robert Treat with his Connecticut Men and Indians under Attawamhood, above 100 in all. The Indians then gave up the

Contest and fled in all Directions. When they first met *Mosely* they thought they would have an easy Conquest,—dared him to come on, and added, “You seek Indians, you want Indians—here's Indians enough for you.” Letter of the Time in *Book of the Indians*.

stood the firmest to the Interest of the *English* of all the Rest in those Parts: but they all hanging together, like Serpent's Eggs, were easily persuaded to join with those of *Hadly* (there being so near Alliance between them; for the Sachim of the *Springfield Indians*¹⁹² was Father of *Hadly* Sachim) not only by the Success of their treacherous and blood thirsty Companions, but by the same inbred Malice and Antipathy against the *English* Manners and Religion.

The Inhabitants of *Springfield* were not insensible of their Danger, and therefore had upon the first breaking forth of those Troubles been treating with their *Indians*, and received from them the firmest Assurance and Pledges of their Faithfulness and Friendship that could be imagined or desired, both by Covenant, Promises, and Hostages given for Security; so as no Doubt was left in any of their Minds: yet did these faithless and ungrateful Monsters plot with *Philips Indians* to burn and destroy all *Springfield*, as they had done *Brookfield* before: to that End they sent cunningly and enticed away the Hostages from *Hartford*, where perhaps they were too insecurely watched over, a Day or two before: then receiving about three hundred of *Philips Indians* into their Fort, privately in the Night time, so as they were neither discerned or suspected. Yea, so confident were such of the Inhabitants as were most

¹⁹² His Name was *Woguogan* or *Weguogon*. See *Appendix to Ma-* ther's *Brief History*, 246. Judd's *History of Hadley*, 151.

conversant with the *Indians* at their Fort, that they would not believe there was any such Plot in Hand, when it was strangely revealed by one *Toto*, an *Indian* at *Windsor*, better affected to the English, (about eighteen or twenty Miles below *Springfield*, upon the same *River*), and so by Post, Tidings thereof brought to *Springfield* the Night before; insomuch that the Lieutenant of the Town, *Cooper* by Name, was so far from believing the Stratagem, that in the Morning himself and another would venture to ride up to the Fort, to see whether Things were so or no.¹⁹³ The Fort was about a Mile from the Town: when he came within a little thereof, he met these bloody and deceitful Monsters, newly issued out of their *Equus Trojanus* to act their intended Mischief; [42] they presently fired upon him, divers of them, and shot him in several Places through the Body, yet being a Man of stout Courage, he kept his Horse till he recovered the next garrison House; his Companion they shot dead upon the Place;¹⁹⁴ by this Means giving a sad Alarm to the Town of their intended Mischief, which was instantly fired in all Places where

¹⁹³ The Propriety of Disarming those Indians was a Question with the Council of Connecticut, but of course they could only make a Suggestion, deferring to those on the Spot as the best Judges of what should be done.

¹⁹⁴ The *Pentecost* Matthews killed

at this Time, mentioned in a Note to the *Brief History*, p. 98, was a Woman, wife of John Matthews. Judd, *History of Hadley*, 153. See Note 175, *ante*. Those mortally wounded were Nathaniel Browne, and Edmund Pringridays. Judd, *ibid*.

there were no Garrisons. The poor People having never an Officer to lead them, being like Sheep ready for the Slaughter, and no doubt the whole Town had been totally destroyed, but that a Report of the Plot being carried about over Night, Major *Treat* came from *Westfield* time enough in a Manner, for the Rescue, but wanting Boats to transport his Men, could not do so much Good as he desired. Major *Pynchon* coming from *Hadly* with Capt. *Appleton* and what Forces they could bring along with them,¹⁹⁵ (thirty two Houses being first consumed,) preserved the Rest of the Town from being turned into Ashes; in which the over credulous Inhabitants might now see (what before they would not believe at the burning of Major *Pynchons* Barns and Stables a few Days before,¹⁹⁶ to very great Damage of the Owner) the faithless and deceitful Friendship amongst those perfidious, cruel and hellish Monsters.

Amongst the Ruins of the said Dwellings, the saddest to behold was the House of Mr. *Pelatiab Glover*, Minister of the Town, furnished with a brave Library, which he had but newly brought back from a Garrison wherein it had been for some Time before secured; but as if the Danger

¹⁹⁵ Mr. Pynchon wrote to Mr. Ruffell of Hadley, 15th Oct., 1675, "We came to a lamentable and woful Sight,—the Town in Flames, not a House and Barn standing, except old Goodman Branche's, while we came to my House; and then

Mr. Glover's, John Hitchcock's and Goodman Stewart's burnt down with Barns, Corn, and all they had," &c. See Letter in *Appendix* to Mather's *Brief History*, 244.

¹⁹⁶ September 26th, 1675.

had been over with them, the said Minister, a great Student, and an *belluo librorum*, being impatient for Want of his Books, brought them back to his great Sorrow, fit for a Bonfire for the proud insulting Enemy. Of all the Mischiefs done by the said Enemy before that Day, the Burning of this Town of *Springfield* did more than any other, discover the said Actors to be the Children of the Devil, full of all Subtilty and Malice, there having been for about forty Years so good Correspondence betwixt the English of that Town and the neighbouring *Indians*. But in them is made good what is said in the *Psalms*, That *though their Words were smother than Oil, yet were they drawn Swords*.

After some little Time spent in garrisoning the Place and helping the Inhabitants to secure what they had left, the English Soldiers most of them returned back to *Hadly* their Head Quarters; and Major *Pinchon* being so full of Incumbrances, by Reason of the late Spoils done to himself, and his Neighbours at *Springfield*, could not any longer attend the Service of Commanding in chief as he had done before;¹⁹⁷ wherefore being according to his earnest Request of the Council eased of that Burden, Capt. *Samuel Appleton* was ordered to

¹⁹⁷ He requested to be relieved. In his Letter of Oct. 5th, he says: "I know not how to write, neither can I be able to attend any public Service." He was excused, and Captain Appleton appointed to his Place, who took Command Oct.

12th, following. The Council say to him in their Letter (dated Oct. 4th), "they having considered the earnest Desires of Major Pynchon, and the great Affliction upon him and his Family," &c. Appleton *Memorial*, 96.

succeed in taking Charge [43] of the Soldiers left in those upper Towns, by whose Industry, Skill and Courage, those Towns were preserved from running the same Fate with the Rest, wholly or in part so lately turned into Ashes.¹⁹⁸ For the Enemy growing very confident by the late Successes, came with all their Fury the ninth of October following upon *Hatfield*, hoping no less than to do the like Mischiefs to them they had newly done to *Springfield*; But according to the good Providence of Almighty God, Major *Treat* was newly returned to *Northampton*, Capt. *Mosely* and Capt. *Poole* were then garrisoning the said *Hatfield*, and Capt. *Appleton* for the like End quartering at *Hadly*, when on the sudden seven or eight hundred of the Enemy came upon the Town in all Quarters, having first killed or taken two or three Scouts belonging to the Town, and seven more belonging to Capt. *Mosely* his Company: But they were so well entertained on all Hands where they attempted to break in upon the Town, that they found it too hot for them. Major *Appleton* with great Courage defending one End of the Town, and Capt. *Mosely* as stoutly maintaining the Middle, and Capt. *Pool* the other End; that they were by the Resolution of the English instantly beaten off, without doing much Harm. Capt. *Appletons* Serjeant¹⁹⁹ was mortally

¹⁹⁸ Up to the Attack on Hatfield, Affairs were so very gloomy, that it required all the Nerve of the bravest of Men to accept the Place of Commander-in-Chief. But Capt. Appleton being on the Ground, was

induced, though with great Distrust of the Issue, to assume the Command. See his Letter of Oct. 12th, in *Appleton Memorial*, 97.

¹⁹⁹ Freegrace Norton. See *Table*, No. 13.

wounded juſt by his Side, another Bullet paſſing through his own Hair, by that Whiſper telling him that Death was very near, but did no other Harm. Night coming on, it could not be diſcerned what Loſs the Enemy ſuſtained, divers were ſeen to fall, ſome run through a ſmall River, others caſt their Guns into the Water (it being their Manner to venture as much to recover the dead Bodies of their Friends, as to defend them when alive.) At laſt after burning of ſome few Barns with ſome other Buildings, the Enemy haſted away as faſt as they came on, leaving the Engliſh to bleſs God who had ſo mercifully delivered them from the Fury of their Mercileſs Foes, who had in Conceit without Doubt devoured all: But this reſolute and valiant Repulſe. put ſuch a Check upon the Pride of the Enemy, that they made no further Attempt upon any of thoſe Towns for the preſent;²⁰⁰ but Winter drawing on they retired all of them to their general Rendezvouz at *Narhaganſet*; where we ſhall leave them for the preſent, plotting their general Deſign of accompliſhing their intended Miſchief againſt the *Engliſh* the next Spring.

Our weſtern Plantations upon *Conneſticut River*, were the Stage whereon were acted the moſt remarkable Paſſages of this barbarous War hitherto, which was ſoon after removed into many other Places of the Country in the Winter and Spring following, whither our Diſcourſe muſt in the next

²⁰⁰ It will ſoon be ſeen that this rect. See *Table*, No. 14.
Conclusion was not entirely cor-

Place pursue it : There was not any [44] great Matter acted by the Enemy amongst the Plantations upon the great River during the Winter, after the Assault made upon *Hatfield*, October 19. It is evident that the Body of them returned to *Narbaganset* upon the approach of the Winter, which set in more early than it used in other Years : Where *Philip* did bestow himself in the winter Season is not so certain ; some say that he repaired further westward, to try his Fortune with those *Indians* that lie towards Albany, near the *Dutch River* :²⁰¹ others more probably conceive that he lay hid in some Part of the *Narbaganset-Country* : for though he was not certainly known to be about the Fort at *Narbaganset*, when it was taken by our Forces in the Winter, yet as soon as ever they were driven out of the Country in *February*, he was found amongst them that did the Mischief at *Landcaster* in that Month.²⁰²

Some stragling Parties of them remained about

²⁰¹ The only Instance which I remember to have seen Hudson's River so denominated. Even now it is ofteneft called the North River. Its Indian Name was *Sbatemuck*, as an old Settler on the River, who understood Indian, told Egbert Benson in 1785. This is probably Washington Irving's Authority for its Use in his *Knickerbocker*. See Moulton's *History of New York*, 214. *Knickerbocker*, 1, 73, first Edition.

²⁰² The Fears of the English made Philip nearly Omnipresent, while in

reality there is no Evidence that he was present in any of the Fights along the Connecticut River. He was timid and cowardly, and was continually skulking from Place to Place, and perhaps urged others to fight. He would no doubt gladly have made Peace with the English but from Fear of his own Men, and the more certain Faët that the English would show him no Mercy. Jefferson Davis is now in a Situation very similar to that in which Philip was then. Philip was more contemptible, but far less villainous.

Northampton,²⁰³ *Westfield*,²⁰⁴ and *Springfield*, some Time after their Defeat at *Hatfield*: seven or eight of the Inhabitants of *Northampton* in the End of *October*, venturing to fetch in some of their Harvest that was left somewhere out of the Town, were in Danger of being surpris'd, having laid their Arms under their Cart, so as being destitute of Means to make their Defence, they were glad to flie away with their Horses out of their Cart, leaving what they were about, to the Pleasure of the *Indians* that assaulted. Major *Treat* upon the hearing the Alarm, presently repaired thither, but could not come Time enough to destroy any of the Enemy, nor yet to prevent their burning of four or five Houses, with two or three Barns that stood somewhat out of the Town. Within a little Time after they killed three of the same Town, as they were at work in a Meadow not far from the Town: they intended also to have burned the Mill, but it was too well guarded by two Files of Musquetiers lodged there for the Purpose, who put them beside their In-

²⁰³ Major Pyncheon wrote from Hadley, Sept. 30th, that "two Days before, two Englishmen at Northampton, being gone out in the Morning to cut Wood, and but a little from the House, were both shot down dead." *Extract* in Judd, 150. The Rev. Mr. Russell gives their Names,—Praisever Turner, and Uzacaby Shackspeere. Coffin's *Newbury*, 390.

²⁰⁴ On the 27th of October, the

Indians killed three Men belonging to Springfield, in Westfield; viz. John Dumbleton, Jr., who went to Westfield Mill, and William Brooks, Jr., and John Brooks, who went to look for Iron Ore, on Land bought of Mr John Pyncheon. The Indians burnt Mr. Cornish's House and the House and Barn of John Sackett. A Mr. Granger had a Ball shot into his Leg. Davis's *History of Westfield*, 7. Judd's *Hadley*, 156.

tent.²⁰⁵ Six or seven of *Springfield* soon after going to the Mill in *Westfield* (that which belonged to their own Town being burned *October 5th*), and venturing without Arms, three of them were killed by some of the Enemy, who took the Advantage also to burn four or five Houses that belonged to the said *Westfield*: but by the End of *November* the Coast was pretty clear of them, unless some few of them that lay lurking in the Swamps thereabouts all the Winter, doing some small Mischief upon some Out-dwellings of *Springfield*.

The Expedition into the *Narhaganset* Country, follows in Order in the next Place to be related; but before we come thither, a little Notice must be taken by the Way, of an unsuccessful Attempt upon the *Indians* [45] about *Hassanemesit*,²⁰⁶ and *Poppachuog*,²⁰⁷ whither Capt. *Henchman* was sent in the Beginning of *November*: where also Captain *Sill*²⁰⁸ was ordered to meet him with

²⁰⁵ This Attack was on October 29th. The other Affair just mentioned was about the Middle of the Month. See Williams's *History of Northampton*, 11. In that of the 29th, Thomas Salmon, Joseph Baker, and Joseph Baker, Jr., were killed, as they were at work in the Meadow. The Enemy attempted to burn the Mill there, but were prevented. *Ibid.* In the first Attack John Roberts was mortally wounded, and one Indian was killed. Judd, 156. The Affair in the Meadow is a little different in Williams.

²⁰⁶ In the present Town of Grafton. Its Name meant a *Stony Place*. It was a noted Town of Praying Indians.

²⁰⁷ The Same usually written Pakkachoog, or Packachoooge. It was in the southerly Part of Worcester, and was a Village of Praying Indians, on a Hill, by some called Bogachoag.

²⁰⁸ Joseph Sill of Cambridge. A good Sequel to his Part in the present Expedition is given by Gen. Gookin in Hist. *Praying Indians*. We shall meet with him again.

another Company from *Cambridg*, with intent to have beat up the *Indian* Quarters in those Parts : they being known to have had an Hand in the Outrages committed upon those that belonged to *Malborough* and *Mendham* ; cutting off the Scalp of a Millers Boy, who is yet Alive.

November 1, 1675, Capt. *Henchman* marched out of Boston, intending to visit the *Indians* about *Hassenemesit* : the third Day they saw some Fires of the *Indians*, yet could not meet with them that made them : The fourth Day they marched to some Part of the *Indian* Plantations, called *Hassenemesit* : the Captain would have taken up his Quarters a Mile on this Side, but some of his Officers over-ruled him, to whose Importunity he gave Way, and marched a Mile further towards the Enemy, and by that Means saved the Millers Youth, taken the Week before from *Malborough* ; for in the Morning very Early, as the Scouts were looking out, they spied a Wigwam, where some Indians that had carried away the Youth, had lodged all Night in some Wigwam near by ; when the *Indians* saw our Soldiers, they hasted away, and left the *Malborough* Youth behind them, who by that Means escaped their Hands. Our Men under Capt. *Henchman* marched on to *Poppachuog*, and finding the *Indians* all fled (although they perceived by a Messenger accidentally sent back, that the *Indians* followed them all that Way they marched) they came back to *Mendham* to settle Things in that Town : some of the Inhabitants informed them of some

Indian Wigwams about ten Miles off: The Captain, with *Philip Curtice* his Lieutenant, resolved to give them a Camisado in their Wigwams that Night: to that End, they mounted two and twenty upon Horses, riding up ten Miles into the Woods, and when they came near the Wigwams, they dismounted, and intended presently to march up and give an Assault upon them, after they had first made a shout to fright the Enemy: they ordered one half to follow the Lieutenant, the other to follow the Captain; when they came within a Quarter of a Mile of the Place, their Dogs began to bark, at which they stop'd, and by and by marched again, intending presently to fire in upon them, but the Captains Foot slipping, he could hardly recover himself; when suddenly looking behind him, he saw no Man following of him: the Lieutenant had five behind him, who with those five resolutely fired on that Side he was appointed to make the Assault upon; but they were repulsed by the *Indians*,²⁰⁹ who firing

²⁰⁹ The Historian of Marlborough, (the Hon. Chas. Hudson) seems not to have been aware of this Event. It happened on Nov. 6th. Gen. Gookin's Version of it is very Circumstantial, as the Captive was rescued by two of his Praying Indians. The Name of the Youth was Christopher Muchin. "He informed the Captain that those seven Indians with whom he was taken, had seized him at *Peter Bent's Mill* in Marlborough, the Day before, and had also seized and scalped a Youth of about nine Years

old, that was his Master Peter Bent's Son, and left the Lad at the Mill as Dead." Thus is Mr. Hubbard's Account essentially elucidated as well as enlarged. See also the Rev. Thomas Cobbet's *Narrative* in *N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg'r*, VII, 209, &c.—Elizabeth, wife of Peter Bent, of Marlboro', said, 10 June, 1676, that she was a poor Widow, with seven Children, that her Husband went to England, and died there, and lost all he carried with him.—*Petition in MS. in Massachusetts Archives.*

out of their Dens, shot down the Lieutenant and another, the Rest presently ran away to a Fence: the Captain with all [46] vehemency urged them to stay; they replied, they went back but only to charge, yet went clear away, by which Means, together with the Cowardice of the former, so sad a Loss befell the Company, which could not easily be repaired: however the Enemy presently deserted the Wigwam, and gave our Men the next Day an Opportunity to fetch off their two dead Men, and bury them, and so with Grief and Shame were constrained to return to their Quarters at *Mendham*; ²¹⁰ to whose Inhabitants they gave notice of 200 Bushels of Corn belonging to the *Indians*, that might have been preserved, which for Want of Hands was lost by the Fire, that the Enemy might not be benefited thereby. It appears by the foregoing Passage, that the Time of our Deliverance was not yet come, and that God had further Trials to acquaint us with, before he would turn his Hand upon our Enemies. But it pleased the Lord in Mercy so to order Things, that they themselves fell into that Pit they were digging for others, as shall appear more fully in what follows.

The English Plantations about *Hadly* being for the Present set a little at Liberty by the *Indians*

²¹⁰ Gen. Gookin says: "Capt. Henchman told me he judged several of the Enemy were slain in the Wigwam, but the Certainty is not known; but it was certain he lost two of his Men, whereof his Lieu-

tenant was one,—Philip Curtice of Roxbury, a stout Man. His Hands they cut off and placed upon a crotched Pole at the Wigwam Door faced against each other, which were seen a few Days after."

drawing off, like Seamen after a Storm, counted it their best Course to repair their Tackling against another that may be next coming;²¹¹ wherefore the Inhabitants concluded it the safer Way to make a Kind of Barricado about their Towns, by setting up Pallisadoes of Cleft-wood about eight Foot long, as it were to break the Force of any sudden Assault which the *Indians* might make upon them, which Counsel proved very successful; for although it be an inconsiderable Defence against a Warlike Enemy, that had Strength enough, and Confidence to besiege a Place, yet it is sufficient to prevent any sudden Assault of such a timorous and barbarous Enemy as these were; for although they did afterwards in the Spring break through those Pallisadoes at *Northampton*, yet as soon as ever they began to be repulsed, they saw themselves like Wolves in a Pound, that they could not fly away at their Pleasure, so as they never ventured to break through afterward upon any of the Towns so secured.

As for those of *Springfield*, they were now and then alarmed with a few skulking *Indians* lurking about in the adjacent Woods, as once at the long Meadow, where half a Score of them were seen about an House remote from the Town, who were pursued by a Party of the English towards *Windsor*, and so escaped: after the English had

²¹¹ Whether this highly appropriate Metaphor suggested that employed with so much Splendor on a great Occasion by Daniel Webster, cannot be known; while this cannot fail to recall that to the Mind of every Reader; especially those of *this* Day, Feb. 22d, 1865.

made one shot upon them, not knowing certainly how many they killed. So at another Time, a Few of those barbarous Wretches killed a poor Man belonging to *Springfield*, as he was going to his House to look after his Corn on the other Side of the River;²¹² and after they had killed the Man, they burnt [47] down his House; yet attempted no further Mischief upon that Part of the Town that had escaped the Fury of the Flames, *October 5.* By which it is evident, that all the Number of *Indians* that had assaulted them before, had now drawn themselves to their Winter Quarters, some to the *Dutch River*, but the greatest Number of them to be sure were found in the Winter at the *Narhaganset Fort*, where we shall leave them for the Present, till the Forces of the United Colonies shall fire them out of their Nests.²¹³

The Soldiers continuing some Time at *Hatfield* after this Victory, as we may well call it (for it seems to have given the first Check to the Rage of the Heathen within the Jurisdiction of the United Colonies, they have been observed ever since to have been on the losing Hand, seldom or never daring to meet our Soldiers in the open

²¹² The Death of this "poor man" is probably not recorded on the Springfield Records. I find that of "Samuel Chapin, Deacon of the Church, died Nov. 11th," and Benj. Mun, Sen., Nov., 1675."

²¹³ Philip, with a Few of his Wampanoags, passed the Winter, it

was supposed, in the Wilderness beyond the Connecticut River. Indeed such Information was received from Gov. Andros at Connecticut. The Council of that Colony urged him to engage the Mohawks to destroy them. See *Colonial Records* Ct., ii, 397-8.

Field, unless when they have very great Advantage as to their Numbers, or Covert of the Woods and Bushes: although like some raging Beasts they have done much Mischief several Times since, when they were ready to expire, or when the Pangs of Death were coming upon them) our Forces were all called Home, save some left for garisoning the Towns thereabouts.

The Commissioners of the united Colonies taking into serious Consideration the present State of Things, *viz.* that there were before this Time so many Hundreds gathered together into one Body, and that there was great Reason to fear, if they were let alone till the next Spring they might all rise together as one Man round about us, and that one Town after another might easily be destroyed, before any Help could be dispatched to them. On the one Hand the Sharpness of the Winter in these Parts was well weighed, so extream that it might hazard the Loss of a thousand Men in one Night, if they were forced to lodge Abroad in the open Field: as also the Difficulty, if not Impossibility, of sending any Relief to them at any Distance, the Depth of Snow usually making the Ways unpassable for divers Months together.

On the other Hand it was considered, that if the Enemy were let alone till the next Summer, it would be impossible to deal with them, or find them any where, but they might waste one Company of Soldiers after another, as was seen by the Experience of the former Year. Con-

sidering also that the *Narhaganjets*, the most Numerous of all the Rest, and the best provided of Provision of all the other *Indians*, had now declared themselves our Enemies, who if they were let alone till the Winter was over, we should be unable to deal with so many Enemies at once, that could on a sudden, on any occasion, spread themselves like Grasshoppers all over the Country.

[48] It was therefore finally agreed upon by the general consent of all, to fall upon the Winter-quarters of our Enemies, by a more considerable Army (if I may so call it) gathered out of all the three Colonies, and that with all Expedition, at furthest not to exceed the tenth of *December*, before they should have a thousand Men in Arms ready for the Design.²¹⁴

²¹⁴ This was the Resolve of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, at Boston, Nov. 2d, 1675. The Names of the Commissioners were John Winthrop, Wait Winthrop, Thomas Danforth, *President*; William Stoughton, Josiah Winslow, and Thomas Hinckley.

In the Preamble to the Resolution, the Commissioners charge, that the *Narhaganjets* are deeply accessory in the present bloody Outrages. This appearing by their harbouring the Actors thereof: "that they had not delivered up any of the Enemy, but had harbored and protected them; had killed and taken away the Cattle of the English; "and did for some Daies seize and keepe vnder a stronge Gaurde, Mr. Smithes House and Family; and att the Newes of the sad and la-

mentable Mischieffe that the Indians did vnto the English att or near Hadley, did in a very reproachfull and blasphemous manor triumph and rejoyce thereat." This has Reference to the Treatment of Lothrop and Beer's Men, some of whom were hung by Chains, as mentioned in our Author's Account before detailed. Therefore the Commissioners say we "doe agree and determine that besides the Number of Souldiers formerly agreed vpon to be raised, there shall be one thousand more raised and furnished," &c.; and that the Hon^{ble} Josiah Winslow, Esq., Gov^r of Plymouth Collonie," shall be Commander-inChief of them; that the second in Command to be appointed by Connecticut, who as will appear, was Maj. Robert Treat.

As for the late League made or rather renewed with the *Narbagansets*, it was sufficiently evident and known, that they had all along from the first Day when it was confirmed, broken every Article of it, specially in not delivering up the Enemies which had sheltered themselves with them all this while, which though they did not positively deny, yet did nothing but find Excuses, to defer it one Week after another, till at the last they would be excused till the next Spring, upon Pretence that they could not before that Time get them together. And besides the favouring of those that fled to them, and supplying the whole Body of the Enemy with Victuals upon all Occasions; It was likewise strongly suspected, that in all the late Proceedings of the Enemy, many of their young Men were known to be actually in Arms against us; many of whom were found either wounded amongst them in their Wigwams, or else were occasionally seen returning back, after Exploits abroad, to be healed of their Wounds at Home. Also some of our Mens Guns that were lost at *Dearfield* were found in the Fort when it was fired. Therefore all Scruples as to the Justness and Necessity of the War being removed, the only Question was, Whether it were Feasible and Expedient in the Winter? The Exigent was very great, and the Choice very hard: But as *David* when he was streightened with many Difficulties at once, chose rather to fall into the Hands of God whose Mercies were great, though he might be provoked to cause his Jealousie to smother against those of

his own Heritage for a Time ; so in this Exigent it was generally conceived to be most Expedient for the Country, to cast themselves upon the Providence of a merciful and gracious God, rather than by Delays to expose themselves to the Treachery and Cruelty of a perfidious Enemy.

A War therefore speedily to be carried on in the very Depth of Winter, being agreed upon, Care was taken for Supplies, as the Difficulty of such an Affair so circumstanced did require, though possibly not with so much necessary Care, and so suitable Provision, as had been desired, if what came afterward to pass could have been foreseen, (which peradventure might be the Reason Things went on so heavily for Want of well oyling the Wheels ;) in the mean Time a small Army of a thousand fighting Men, well appointed, were ordered by the Commissioners to [49] be gathered by Proportion out of all the Colonies, of which Number the Share of the *Massachusetts* was to be five hundred and twenty seven,²¹⁵ the Rest were to be supplied out of *Plimouth* and *Connecticut* Colonies.²¹⁶ All other supplies were taken care for, as well as the suddenness of the

²¹⁵ There appears to have been a "Chirurgion General" for the *Massachusetts* Troops, named Daniel Weld, of Salem. He was Son of Mr. Thomas Weld, an early Minister of Roxbury of Antinomian Notoriety. Long after the War he petitioned the General

Court for Remuneration for his Sacrifices and Losses in the *Narraganset* Expedition. He died previous to 24 June, 1691. See Fell's *Annals of Salem*, i, 436.

²¹⁶ *Massachusetts*, 527 ; *Plymouth*, 158 ; *Connecticut*, 325. *Records United Colonies*, x, 365.

Expedition, and Difficulty of the Season would allow. The said thousand Men, beside some Voluntiers of Indian-Friends, were by the Time and Place appointed as near as could be had, called together,²¹⁷ and a Commission granted to the honourable *Josiah Winslow* Esq; the present Governour of *Plimouth Colony*, a Man of known Ability and Integrity, every Way so well qualified with Courage and Resolution as well as Prudence and Discretion, as might have preferred him to the Conduct of a far greater Army than ever is like to be gathered together in this Part of the World, in this or following Generations. And indeed, as he was the first Governour over any of the United Colonies in New-England of them that were born in the Place, so may he well pass for a Pattern of any of the succeeding Race that may come after.

Under him as Commander in Chief, were ordered six Companies from the *Massachusetts*, under the Command of Major *Appleton*, Cap. *Mosely*, Capt. *Gardner*, Capt. *Davenport*, Capt. *Oliver*,²¹⁸

²¹⁷ The Connecticut Men were to rendezvous at Norwich, Stonington, and New London; those of Plymouth and Massachusetts, at Rehoboth, Providence and Warwick. All to be ready at or before the 15th of December. *Records United Colonies*, x, 358.

²¹⁸ Six Years after, Capt. Oliver petitioned the General Court for a Grant of "that Island whereon Wianonset [Wonalanet?] lately dwelt. Your Petitioner for many Years past hath been in publick

Employment, and during the late Warrs your Petitioner was at Narraganset and Elsewhere on the Service of the Country, and after this hath had the most Part of his Estate consumed by Fire." The Magistrates granted him "200 Acres of Land where it is to be found, not prejudicial to previous Grants." The Deputies consented "provided the Grant be made to Nathaniel Barnes for the Petitioners Use." He was of Boston, son of Thomas Oliver, died *f. p.* 1682.

Capt. *Johnson* ; five Companies from Connecticut under Major *Treat*, Capt. *Siely*, Capt. *Gallop*, Capt. *Mason*, Capt. *Wats*, and Capt. *Marshall* ; Two Companies from *Plimouth*, under Major *Bradford* and Capt. *Goram*.

Under the Governour of *Plimouth* as Commander in Chief in this Expedition, were sent as Majors of the Forces belonging to each Colony, Major *Robert Treat* for the Forces belonging to *Connecticut*, and Major *Bradford* for those of the Colony of *Plimouth* and Major *Samuel Appleton* for those of the *Massachusetts*, to whom by the honorable Major General of the said Colony were six Companies of Foot delivered at *Dedham*, *December* the 9th. 1675, containing in Number 465 fighting Men, besides a Troop of Horse under the Command of Capt. *Thomas Prentice* attending upon them. That Night they marched to *Woodcoks*, about 27 Miles from *Dedham* ; the next Night they arrived at *Seaconck* ; Capt. *Mosely* and his Company went from thence with Mr. *Smith* by Water, the Rest ferried over the Water to *Providence*.

The next Day, *Decemb.* the 12th they passed over *Patuxet-River*, and then marching through *Pombams Country*, at Night they met with Capt. *Mosely* and his Company at Mr. *Smiths* in *Wickford*, the Place intended for their Head-quarters. Capt. *Mosely* in his Way thither had happily surprised thirty six *Indians*, one of whom he took along with him as a Guide, *Peter*²¹⁹ by Name,

²¹⁹ For some interesting Particulars respecting this Peter (afterwards

that was at that Time under some Disgust with his [50] Country-men, or his Sachim, which made him prove the more real Friend to our Forces in that Service, wherein he faithfully performed what he promised, and without his Assistance our Men would have been much at a Loss to have found the Enemy, untill it had been too late to have fought them.

Two Dayes after, *Decemb. 14th*, five Files of Men sent out under Serjeant *Bennet*²²⁰ and another, upon the Scout, kill'd one Man and one Woman, and brought in four more by one of the Clock : the whole Company marched after into some of the Sachims Country, where they burnt an hundred and fifty Wigwams, killed seven of the Enemy, and brought in eight Prisoners when they returned at Night.²²¹

The next Day, an *Indian* called *Stone-Wall-John*²²² pretending to come from the Sachims,

called Peter Freeman), See *Note 1*, page 105 of Dr. J. Mather's *Brief History*. By the Confessions of the English themselves, he saved their Army. Even Cotton Mather acknowledges that "they could not well have lived without him."

²²⁰ Perhaps John Bennet, some Time of Beverly ; if so his Name did not come to the knowledge of Mr. Stone the Historian of that Town.

²²¹ The Operations of the 14th are thus given in Capt. Oliver's *Narrative* : "Dec. 14th, our

Generall went out with Horfe and Foot ; I with my Company was left to keep Garrison. I sent out thirty of my Men to scout abroad, who killed two Indians and brought in four Prisoners, one of which was beheaded. Our Army came Home at Night, [having] killed seven and brought in nine more, Young and Old."

²²² The natal Name of this Indian has not been learned. He had lived among the English and learned the Mason's Trade, and hence his Name *Stone-layer*, *Stone-layer-John*, *Stone-Wall-John*, &c.

intimating their Willingness to have Peace with the English, yet could the Messenger hardly forbear threatening, vapouring of their Numbers and Strength; adding withal, that the English durst not fight them: whatever were pretended by this treacherous Fellow, some of his Crew, as he went Home, met with some of Capt. *Gardners* Men, that were stragling about their own Business contrary to Order, and slew his Sergeant, with one or two more. Two also of Capt. *Oliviers* Men were killed in like Manner, a solemn Warning for Soldiers not to be too Venterous in an Enemies Country. For preventing the like Mischief upon other Companies, more care was taken as they passed to the Head-quarters, some of the Companies being lodged three Miles therefrom. Capt. *Mosely's*, Capt. *Davenports*, and Capt. *Oliviers* Company, being also sent about that Time to bring Major *Appletons* Company to the general Quarters: a few desperate *Indians* creeping under a stone Wall near the Place, fired twenty or thirty Guns at *Mosely* in particular, a Commander well known amongst them; but the Rest of the Company running down upon them, killed one of them, and scattered the Rest.²²³

When the War broke out he joined the War Party, and was of great Service to them in erecting their Forts. See *Book of the Indians*, 261-2.

²²³ "Dec. 15th, came in John, a Rogue, with a Pretence of Peace, and was dismissed with [this] Er-

rand; that wee might speak with Sachims. That Evening he not being gone a Quarter of an Houre, [when] his Company that lay hid behind a Hill of our Quarters, killed two Salem Men within a Mile of our Quarters, and wounded a Third [so] that he is dead; and

The next Day Capt. *Prentice* with his Troop, being sent to *Petequanscut*, returned with the sad News of burning of *Jerry Bulls* Garrison-house, and killing ten English men and five Women and Children, but two escaping in all. This is the Chance of War, which they who undertake, must prepare to undergo.²²⁴

The next Day brought from the same Place a little better News, though not enough to balance the Sorrow of the former, *viz.* That *Connecticut* Forces were come thither with three hundred English, and an hundred and fifty *Mobegins*, ready fixed to war on the Behalf of the English against the *Narbagansets* their mortal Enemies; and by the Way meeting a Party of the Enemy, they slew five or six of them, and took as many [51] Prisoners.²²⁵ The whole Number of all our Forces being now come, the Want of Provision with the Sharpness of the

at a House three Miles off, where I had ten Men, they killed two of them. Instantly Capt. Mosely, myself, and Capt. Gardner were sent to fetch in Major Appletons Company, that kept three Miles and a half off; and coming, they [the Enemy] lay behind a Stone Wall and fired on us in sight of the Garrison. We killed the Captain that killed one of the Salem Men and had his Cap. On that Night they burnt Jerry [Jireh] Bull's House, and killed seventeen Persons. Oliver's *Narrative*, above cited.

²²⁴ A want of Watchfulness was probably the Cause of this sad Butchery. The House was of Stone, and might easily have been defended; but the People probably thought the Presence of the Army warranted Security. No Comments are indulged in by Writers of the Time.

²²⁵ "Dec. 17th came News that Connecticut Forces were at Petaquamscut, killed four Indians and took six Prisoners. That Day we sold Capt. Davenport forty seven Indians, young and old, for eighty Pounds in Money." Oliver's *Narrative*.

Cold, minded them of Expedition; wherefore the very next Day, the whole Body of the *Massachusetts* and *Plimouth* Forces marched away to *Pettiquamscot*, intending to engage the Enemy upon the first Opportunity that next offered itself: To the which Resolution those of *Connecticut* presently consented, as soon as they met together, which was about five a Clock in the Afternoon: *Bulls* House intended for their general Rendezvous, being unhappily burnt down two or three Days before, there was no Shelter left either for Officer or private Soldier, so as they were necessitated to march on towards the Enemy through the Snow in a cold stormy Evening, finding no other Defence all that Night, save the open Air, nor other Covering than a cold and moist Fleece of Snow.²²⁶ Through all these Difficulties they marched from the break of the next Day, *December 19th*, till one of the Clock in the Afternoon, without either Fire to warm them, or Respite to take any Food save what they could chew in their March. Thus having waded fourteen or fifteen Mile through the Country of the old Queen, or *Sunke Squaw*²²⁷ of *Narhaganset*; they

²²⁶ "Dec, 18th, we marched to Pettaquamscott with all our Forces, only a Garrison left. That Night was very snowy. We lay a thousand in the open Field that long Night. In the Morning, Dec. 19th, Lords Day, at 5 a Clock, we marched." Oliver's *Narrative*. "Snow two or three foot deep, and withal

an extrem hard Frost, so that some of our Men were frozen in their Hands and Feet, and thereby disabled from Service." *Chronicle*, 47.

²²⁷ She was "a Woman of great Power," as is asserted in some Records, the Wife of a Chief known under different Names, as *Mrikjah*,

came at one a Clock upon the Edg of the Swamp, where their Guide assured them they should find *Indians* enough before Night.²²⁸

Our Forces chopping thus upon the Seat of the Enemy, upon the sudden, they had no Time either to draw up in any order or form of Battel, nor yet Opportunity to consult where or how to Assault. As they marched, Capt. *Mosely* and Capt. *Davenport* led the Van; Major *Appleton* and Capt. *Oliver* brought up the Reer of the Massachusset Forces; General *Winslow* with the *Plimouth* Forces marched in the Centre;²²⁹ those of *Connecticut* came up in the Reer of the whole Body: But the Frontiers discerning *Indians* in the Edg of the Swamp, fired immediately upon them, who answering our Men in the same Language, retired presently into the Swamp; our Men followed them in amain without staying for the Word of Command, as if every one were ambitious who should go first, never making any Stand till they came to the Sides of the Fort, into which the *Indians* that first fired upon them betook themselves.

Mixano, Meika, &c. Ninigret was her Brother. *Mrikjab* was the oldest Son of Canonicus, and was Chief Sachem after the Death of his Father. The *Old Queen* had several Names, as *Quaiapen, Matantuck, Sunk Squaw, &c.* She was killed in the Course of the War. See *Book of the Indians*, 248.

²²⁸ "About Noon they came to a large Swamp, which by Reason of the Frost all the Night before, they were capable of going over (which else they could not have done) they forthwith in one Body entered the Swamp." *Chronicle*, 47.

²²⁹ The General visited Boston on his Way to the Field. Benj.

It seems that there was but one Entrance into the Fort, though the Enemy found many Ways to come out; but neither the English nor their Guide well knew on which Side the Entrance lay, nor was it easie to have made another; wherefore the good Providence of Almighty God is the more to be acknowledged, who as he led *Israel* sometime by the Pillar of Fire, and the Cloud of his Presence a right Way through the Wilderness; so did he now direct our Forces upon that Side of the Fort, where [52] they might only enter, though not without utmost Danger and Hazard. The Fort was raised upon a Kind of Island of five or six Acres of rising Land in the midst of a Swamp; the sides of it were made of Palisadoes set upright, the which was compassed about with an Hedge of almost a rod Thickness, through which there was no passing, unless they could have fired away through, which then they had no Time to do.²³⁰ The Place where the *Indians* used ordinarily to enter themselves, was over a long Tree upon a Place of Water, where

Church accompanied him as a Volunteer Aid-de-Camp, and his Narration of the Events of the Expedition is well known. "Having rode with the General to Boston, and from thence to Rehoboth, upon the Generals Request he went thence the nearest Way over the Ferries, with Major Smith, to his Garrison in the Narraganset Country, to prepare and provide for the coming of General Winflow, who marched

round through the Country with his Army." Church, *Ent. History*, 56.

²³⁰ "In the Midst of the Swamp was a Piece of firm Land, of about three or four Acres, whereon the *Indians* had built a kind of Fort, being palisado'd round, and within that a clay Wall, as also felled down abundance of Trees to lay quite round the said Fort, but they had not quite finished the said Work." *Chronicle*, 47.

but one Man could enter at a time, and which was so way-laid, that they would have been cut off that had ventured there: But at one Corner there was a Gap made up only with a long Tree, about four or five foot from the Ground, over which Men might easily pass: But they had placed a Kind of Block-house right over against the said Tree, from whence they sorely galled our Men that first entred; some being shot dead upon the Tree, as Capt. *Johnson*, and some as soon as they entred, as was Capt. *Davenport*,²³¹ so as they that first entred were forced presently to retire and fall upon their Bellies till the Fury of the Enemies shot was pretty well spent, which some Companies that did not discern the Danger, not observing, lost sundry of their Men; but at the last, two Companies being brought up besides the four that first marched up, they animated one another to make another Assault, one of the Commanders crying out, *They run, they run*; which did so encourage the Soldiers, that they presently entred amain.²³² After a considerable Number were well entred, they presently beat the Enemy out of a Flanker on the left Hand, which

²³¹ Capt. Nathaniel Davenport of Boston. He was mortally wounded after entering the Fort; receiving at once three fatal Wounds. Being dressed in a full buff Suit, it was supposed the Indians took him for the Commander-in-Chief, many aiming at him at once. Before he expired he called Edward Tyng,

his Lieutenant, to him, gave him his Gun, and committed to him the Command of his Company. *History and Antiquities of Boston*, 413,

²³² The first to enter the Indian Fort was John Raymond of Middleborough, a Soldier. See *History and Antiquities of Boston*, *ib.*

did a little shelter our Men from the Enemies Shot till more Company came up, and so by degrees made up higher, first into the Middle, and then into the upper End of the Fort, till at last they made the Enemy all retire from their Sconces and fortified Places, leaving Multitudes of their dead Bodies upon the Place. *Connecticut* Soldiers marching up in the Rear, being not aware of the dangerous Passage over the Tree, in Command of the Block-house, were at their first Entrance many of them shot down, although they came on with as gallant Resolution as any of the rest, under the Conduct of their wise and valiant Leader, Major *Treat*.

The Brunt of the Battel, or Danger that day lay most upon the Commanders, whose Part it was to lead on their several Companies in the very Face of Death, or else all had been lost; so as all of them with great Valour and Resolution of Mind, as not at all afraid to die in so Good a Cause, bravely led on their Men in that desperate Assault, leaving their Lives in the Place as the best Testimony of their Valour, and of Love to the Cause of God and their Country: No less than six brave Captains fell [53] that Day in the Assault, *viz.* Capt. *Davenport*, Capt. *Gardner*,²³³ Capt.

²³³ The Fall of Capt. Gardner is thus touchingly related by Church: "Seeing Capt. Gardner of Salem, amidst the Wigwams in the East End of the Fort, I made towards him; but on a sudden, while we were looking each other in the Face,

Capt. Gardner settled down, I stepped to him, and seeing the Blood run down his Cheek, lifted up his Cap, called him by his Name. He looked up in my Face but spake not a Word, being mortally shot through the Head." *Entertaining Hist.*, 58.

Johnson of the *Massachusetts*, besides Lieutenant *Upham*,²³⁴ who died some Months after of his Wounds received at that Time. Capt. *Gallop* also, and Capt. *Siely*, and Capt. *Marshall* were slain of those that belonged to *Connecticut* Colony. It is usually seen that the Valour of the Soldiers is much wrapped up in the Lives of their Commanders; yet was it found here, that the Soldiers were rather enraged than discouraged by the Loss of their Commanders, which made them redouble their Courage, and not give back after they were entred the second Time, till they had driven out their Enemies: So as after much Blood and many Wounds dealt on both Sides, the English seeing their Advantage, began to fire the Wigwams, where was supposed to be many of the Enemies Women and Children destroyed, by the firing of at least five or six hundred of those smoaky Cells.

It is reported by them that first entred the *Indians* Fort, that our Soldiers came upon them when they were ready to dress their Dinner; but one sudden and unexpected Assault put them besides that Work, making their Cookrooms too hot for them at that Time, when they and their Mitchin fryed together: and probably some of them eat their Suppers in a colder Place than

²³⁴ He died the following October, at Malden. With other Wounded he was carried to Rhode Island in January, and some time after to Massachusetts. His age was 41.

The distinguished Gentlemen of that Name in New Hampshire and Massachusetts are his Descendants. See *Upham Family History*, by A. G. Upham, M. D., 1845, p. 30-1.

Night: most of their Provisions as well as their Hutts being then consumed with Fire; and those that were left alive, forced to hide themselves in a Cedar Swamp, not far off, where they had nothing to defend them from the Cold but Boughs of Spruce and Pine Trees: for after two or three Hours fight, the English became Masters of the Place; but not judging it tenable, after they had burned all they could set Fire upon, they were forced to retreat, after the Day-light was almost quite spent, and were necessitated to retire to their Quarters, full fifteen or sixteen Miles off, some say more, whither with their dead and wounded Men they were to march, a Difficulty scarce to be believed, as not to be paralleld almost in any former Age.²³⁵

It is hard to say who acquitted themselves best in that Days Service, either the Soldiers for their manlike Valour in fighting, or the Commanders for

²³⁵ Church exerted himself against the Policy then adopted of abandoning the Fort, and argued that many of the Wounded might be saved, if it were held. He himself was badly wounded, being struck by three Balls; "one in his Thigh, which was near half cut off as it glanced on the Joint of his hip bone." His Advice was violently opposed by "a certain Doctor, who looking upon Mr. Church, and seeing the Blood flow apace from his Wounds, told him that if he gave such Advice, he should bleed to death like a Dog, before they would endeavor to

stanch his Blood." The General had already adopted Church's Advice, and was about to ride into the Fort himself; but as he was entering the Swamp, one of his Captains seized his Horse, saying he should not expose himself, and if he did not desist he would shoot his Horse under him. Thus it seems the General was not Commander-in-Chief, only in Name. Doubtless the jealousy of this Captain and some others, had been excited owing to the Confidence the General had placed in Mr. Church's Judgment. *Entertaining History*, 61-2.

their Wisdom and Courage; leading on in the very Face of Death. There might one have seen the whole Body of that little regimental Army, as busie as Bees in a Hive, some bravely fighting with the Enemy, others haling off, and carrying away the Dead and wounded Men; which I rather note, that none may want the due Testimony of their Valour and Faithfulness, though all ought to say, *Not unto us, but unto thy Name, O Lord, &c.*

For though there might not be above three or four hundred at any [54] Time within the Fort at once, yet the Rest in their Turns came up to do what the Exigence of the Service required in bringing off the dead and wounded Men: The Major of the *Massachusetts* Regiment,²³⁶ together with Capt. *Moseley*, was very serviceable; for by that Means the Fort being clear of the dead Bodies, it struck a greater Terroure into the Enemy, to see but eight or ten dead Bodies of the English left, than to meet with so many hundreds of their own slain and wounded Carcasses. The Number of the Slain was not then known on the Enemies Side, because our Men were forced to leave them on the ground: but our Victory was found afterwards to be much more Considerable than at the First was apprehended; for although

²³⁶ Major Samuel Appleton, who, most probably furnished the Author with many of the Facts here recorded, as also with many others respecting Transactions in which he was immediately concerned. He

was a Neighbor and Parishioner of the Author. His Posterity are quite numerous and highly respectable. The late eminent Merchants, Samuel and Nathan Appleton, of Boston were among them.

our Loss was very great, not only because of the Desperateness of the Attempt it self (in such a season of the Year, and at such a Distance from our Quarters, whereby many of our wounded Men perished, which might otherwise have been preserved, if they had not been forced to march so many Miles in a cold and snowy Night, before they could be dressed)²³⁷ yet the Enemy lost so many of their principal fighting Men, their Provision also was by the burning of their Wigwams, so much of it spoiled at the taking of their Fort,²³⁸ and by surprizing so much of their Corn about that Time also, that it was the Occasion of their total Ruine afterwards; they being at that Time driven away from their Habitations, and put by from planting for that next Year, as well as deprived of what they had in Store for the present Winter. What Numbers of the Enemy were slain is uncertain; it was confessed by one *Potock* a great Councillor amongst them, afterwards taken at *Road-Island*, and put to Death at *Boston*, that the *Indians* lost seven hundred fighting Men that Day, besides three hundred that died of their Wounds the most of them; the Number of old

²³⁷ This may be taken as a Proof of the Soundness of Mr. Church's Judgment. What of the Indians not killed were driven out; "The Wigwams were Musket-proof, being all lined with Baskets and Tubs of Grain and other Provisions, sufficient to supply the whole Army until the Spring of the Year. *Church*, 61.

²³⁸ Chiefly destroyed, doubtless, after Church's Advice had been overruled. In the Chronicle it is said there were "near 1000 Wigwams. How many were burnt they could not tell, only, that they marched above three Miles from the Fort by the Light of the Fires." *Page* 49. The Reader may be compelled to reinforce his Credulity.

Men, Women and Children, that perished either by Fire, or that were starved with Hunger and Cold, None of them could tell.²³⁹ There were above eighty of the English slain, and a hundred and fifty wounded that recovered afterwards.²⁴⁰

There were several Circumstances in this Victory very remarkable.

First, The Meeting with one *Peter* a fugitive *Indian*, that upon some Discontent, flying from the *Narragansets*, offered himself to the Service of the English, and did faithfully perform what he promised, *viz.* to lead them to the Swamp where the *Indians* had seated themselves within a Fort raised upon an Island of firm Earth, in the Midst of a Swamp, whither None of the English could have piloted them, without his Assistance, the Place being near eighteen Miles from the Place where they were quartered.²⁴¹

Secondly, Their being by a special Providence

²³⁹ It has been pretty confidently asserted by later Historians that this Estimate is quite too large. Doubtless the Destruction of the Old and Infirm of both Sexes, and of the Young was very great, as no Quarter was shown to Any. Ninigret's Men buried the Slain, who affirmed that among them were 22 Indian Captains. See Mather, *Brief History*, 108. Also *Table*, No. 19.

²⁴⁰ No complete List of the Soldiers engaged in the Narraganset Expedition has ever been published, so far as I know. With much Labor I collected and published a List of

Killed and Wounded of those belonging to Massachusetts. Those amounted to ninety-three. See *History and Antiquities Boston*, 414.

²⁴¹ A Writer in the *Chronicle* gives a very different Account of this *Peter* from that by others. "Some of the Souldiers accidentally espied an *Indian* alone, whom they took and carried to the General, who, upon his Refusal to answer Questions demanded, was ordered to be hanged forthwith. Thereupon the *Indian*, to save his Life, told them where the whole Body of the *Indians* were." *Page* 62.

directed juſt to a Place [55] where they found ſo eaſie Entrance ; which if they had miſſed, they could never have made a Way through the Hedg, with which they had ſurrounded the Pallifadoes of the Fort in half a Days Time.

And *Thirdly*, If they had entred by the Way left by the *Indians* for Paſſage, they might have been cut off before they could have come near their Fortification.

Laſtly, In directing their Motion, to begin the Aſſault juſt at the Day they did : for if they had deſered but a Day longer, there fell ſuch a Storm of Snow the next Day, that they could not have paſſed through it in divers Weeks after : And then on the Sudden there fell ſuch a Thaw, that melted away both Ice and Snow ; ſo that if they had deferred till that Time, they could have found no Paſſage into their fortified Place.²⁴²

All which Conſiderations put together, make it a ſignal Favour of God to carry them through ſo many Difficulties to accompliſh their deſired End. For after they were retired to their Quarters, but ſixteen Miles from that Place, there was ſo great Want of Proviſion,²⁴³ the Veſſels being

²⁴² Dr. I. Mather mentions this great Thaw, as happening “in the Midſt of January. The like Weather hath rarely been known in this Land at that Time of the Year; albeit ſome of the firſt Planters ſay it was ſo above fifty Years ago.”—*Brief Hiſtory*, 114.

²⁴³ “But it mercifully came to paſs, that Capt. Andrew Belcher arrived at Mr. Smith’s that very Night from Boſton with a Veſſel laden with Proviſions for the Army, which muſt otherwiſe have periſhed for Want.”—*Church*, 62. Quite a diſagreement with our Author.

frozen in at the Harbour about *Cape Cod*, that should have brought them Relief, and the Frost and Snow set in so violently, that it was not possible for them, with all the Force they could make (so many of their ablest Soldiers being slain and wounded) to have made another Onset: But the Goodness of Almighty God was most of all to be admired, that notwithstanding all the Hardship they endured that Winter, in very cold Lodgings, hard Marches, Scarcity of Provision, yet not one Man was known to dye by any Disease or bodily Distemper, save them that perished of their Wounds.

Our Forces being compelled by the foresaid Occasions, to lye still some Weeks after, hoped also that the Enemy so sorely broken, would gladly have sued for Peace: But as was said of old, *God hardened their Hearts to their own Ruine and Destruction afterwards*. For as soon as our Soldiers were able to march, finding that all the Enemies Overtures of Peace, and prolonging of Treaties, was only to gain Time that they might get away into the Woods, They pursued after them, and sometimes came upon their Rear, but then they would immediately fly an hundred Ways at once into Swamps, so as our Men could not follow them; or if they did, could not see two of them together; so that now there was little Good like to be done, unless they could take them at some Advantage. At length having spent all their Provision, and tiring themselves in

purſuing of them fixty or ſeventy Miles, up through the Woods towards *Malborough* and *Lancaster*, Towns that lye in the Road to *Connecticut*, having killed and taken near ſeventy of them, our Soldiers were ordered to [56] return towards *Boston*, to recruit themſelves, ſuppoſing that the *Narbaganſets*, and thoſe with them, were ſo enfeebled that they would have no Mind ſuddenly to aſſault any of the Engliſh Towns.

If any deſire a more particular Account of the Loſs which we ſuſtained at the taking of the *Narbaganſet* Fort, *December* 19. 1675, they may take it as here it follows.

Befides the fix Captains mentioned before, that either were ſlain in the Aſſault, or dyed afterwards of their Wounds, to whom may be reckoned Lieut. *Upham*, that dyed lately at *Boston*,²⁴⁴ of the Wounds he then received.

There were ſlain out of the Com- pany belonging to	Major <i>Appleton</i>	3.	Wound- ed	22.
	Capt. <i>Mofely</i>	9.		10.
	Capt. <i>Oliver</i>	5.		10.
	Capt. <i>Gardner</i>	7.		11.
	Capt. <i>Johnſon</i>	3.		11.
	Capt. <i>Davenport</i>	4.		15.
		in all, 31.	in all, 79.	

²⁴⁴ He is ſuppoſed by his Biographer to have died in *Malden*. Being interred there the Concluſion was natural.—See *Ante*, Note, 234. Lieutenant *Upham* had ſeen ſome Service before he went in this fatal

Expedition. He ſerved under Capt. *Wayte*; and ſoon after Capt. *Hutchinſon*'s defeat went into the *Nipmuck* Country with Capt. *Gorham*, and ſcouted it in various Directions, but could not find the Enemy.

There were slain and wounded	{	Of <i>New Haven</i> Company,	20.
		Of Capt. <i>Siely</i> his Company,	20.
		Of Capt. <i>Wats</i> his Company,	17.
		Of Capt. <i>Marshal</i> his Co., ²⁴⁵	14.
		Of the <i>Plimouth</i> Company under Major <i>Bradford</i> and Capt. <i>Goram</i> , ²⁴⁶	20.
		In all	91.

If there had not been so great a Distance between the Place of the Fight and their Quarters, and so much Cold attending them in their retiring thereunto, some better Account might have been given of that Expedition, than now they were able to do. For a March of sixteen or eighteen Miles is too much to breathe a fresh Soldier, unless he were well mounted, but enough to kill the Heart of them that had been wearied with a long and tedious Fight. As for the Coldness of the Weather, although it be a good Besom to sweep the Chamber of the Air (which might be the Reason there was no more Diseases amongst them) yet it is an unwelcome Companion to

²⁴⁵ On the Records of Windfor, Conn., are recorded the Names of Samuel Marshall, Edward Chapman, Ebenezer Dibble, Nathaniel Pond, and Richard Saxton, "that went against the Indians and were wounded that they dyed. It was on Dec. 19th, 1675."—*Extract by Horatio N. Otis, Esq.*

²⁴⁶ John Gorham. He fell sick on the March and died of a Fever, Feb. 5th, 1676. In a Conversation

with Judge Davis, the Editor of Morton's *Memorial*, in 1830, he remarked, that "Capt. Gorham was of Barnstable; that Benjamin Gorham, the present Member of Congress from this State, is a Descendant. So is Mr. J. G. Palfrey, the Minister of Brattle Street. They have it in Contemplation to find his Grave, and to erect a Monument over it. The Place of his burial is said to be in Swanzezy."

wearied, especially to wounded Men, in so long a Retreat.²⁴⁷

But the Want of Provision falling in Conjunction with the Unseasonableness of the Weather, and Length of the Way, hindered our Forces from [57] any new Attempt upon the Enemy, which if they could have attended, it was thought it might have put an End to our Troubles; but he that holdeth the Scales of Victory in his Hand, turneth them to which Side, and by what Degrees pleaseth himself best.

The rest of the Winter was spent in fruitless Treaties about a Peace: both Sides being well wearied with the late desperate Fight, were willing to refresh themselves the remaining Part of the Winter, with the short Slumber of a pretended Peace, at least with a Talk or Dream thereof: our Commanders Aim therein was Christian and good, if it had proceeded, *sc.* to have prevented the shedding of more Blood.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁷ This may be taken as a good Endorsement by a shrewd Historian of the Judgment of Mr. Church. On the Return of the Army to Smith's Garrison, a Writer in the *Chronicle* says: "The noble General gave Order that the Wounded and Sick should first of all be cared for." Page 50. "The General himself lay in a Barn." Page 51. Meanwhile the Connecticut Men under Major Treat, for Want of Provisions, returned homeward. On their March they killed and captured some thirty of the Enemy.

—Trumbull, *History of Connecticut*, i, 352. *Chronicle*, 57.

²⁴⁸ "On the 23d and 24th of December, the Indians sent some Commissioners to our General, to treat of Peace, which they had no Mind to conclude; but we soon perceived it was only to prevent our falling upon them, and to gain more Time to remove their Army and Provisions twenty Miles farther into the Country, to some Rocks where we could not get at them without much Danger."—*Chronicle*, 57.

And possibly some of the elder and wiser of the Enemy, did really desire what was pretended by them all (for they had now full Proof of the Valour and Resolution of the *English*, which some of them upon former Successes might be ready to question) and they could not but see their Destruction already begun, in the Loss of their Dwellings, and all their Provision, as well as the Slaughter of the best Part of their fighting Men; but either through Consciousness of their barbarous Treachery and Falsehood, they could not trust others,²⁴⁹ and so were willing to run the utmost Hazard, as People hardened to their own Destruction. The particular Passages of the Treaty being carried on by the Enemy only in Pretence, and by our Men (that soon discerned the Fraud) rather out of Necessity, to conceal their Incapacity of engaging them anew, than any real Expectation of a good Effect, are not worthy the relating.²⁵⁰ However, though the Foot were unable to do any Service in the Depth of the Snow, and Sharpness of the Cold, the Horse was sent out upon all Occasions to scout about the Country, who brought in daily much of the Enemies Corn and Beans, which they had hid in Barns and under the Ground, or at least kept them from making use of their own Provision, or

²⁴⁹ That is, they could not trust to the Mercy of the English, because the Decree of Death to all those who had been guilty of joining in the Rebellion had been pro-

mulgated, and had not been rescinded or modified.

²⁵⁰ To what Overtures the Author has Reference is uncertain.

spoiling the English Cattel; now and then also bringing in Prisoners from their Quarters, as they were stragling about to get Victuals.

On the twenty seventh of *December*, Captain *Prentice* was sent into *Pombams Country*,²⁵¹ where they burnt near an hundred Wigwams, but found never an *Indian* in any of them.

On the 28th of *December*, a *Squaw* was sent to them, who had been taken in the Fight, with a Proffer of Peace, if they would submit to such Terms as were propounded; the Principal of which was, The delivering up of all *Philips Indians* that were with them; The *Squaw* returned not, pretending that she was lame and unable to come again; but the thirtieth of *December*, an *Indian* came from the *Sachims* with seeming Thanks for the Peace proffered; yet complained we made War upon them, and gave [58] them no Notice; but his Mouth was soon stopped by the Answer which was made him: he owned, as the *Squaw* had said before, that they lost three hundred of their best fighting Men, and so did two Prisoners of theirs taken *January* the 4th, whereof one being of *Philips* Company, was put to death. The Messenger that was sent was fairly dismissed with the express mention of what Terms they must expect if they desired a Peace.

Jan. 7. There came two Messengers from them, as they said, to make way for a Treaty of Peace; who laid the Blame upon *Canonchet*, that

²⁵¹ In and about the present Town of Warwick, Rhode Island.

came down to *Boston* in *October* last,²⁵² to confirm the Peace with the Commissioners of the United Colonies, as if he had mis-informed them, viz, That they were not by the former Treaty to have delivered up the *Wampanoogs*, or *Philips Indians*, until the said *Canonchets* Brother, one of the Hostages at *Hartford*, was released. This was but a mere Pretence, for he and they too, better understood the Particulars of the Agreement: For by Chance, the Articles which they had of the Peace concluded with them, were found open (whether purposely or accidentally, was not known) in a Wigwam in the Fort when it was taken, so as they could not be ignorant of the Articles of the Agreement.

Jan. 5. An English Child of about three or four Years old, taken from *Warwick*, was sent in to put the better Pretence upon the Treaty mentioned.

Jan. 8. The Messengers were sent back, and told what they must trust to. In the Afternoon a Messenger came from *Ninigret* the old Sachim of *Narhaganfet*,²⁵³ who brought a Letter from Mr. *Stanton* the Interpreter, signifying the Reality of the said *Ninigret* his Friendship to the English, and the Streights of the Enemy; that Corn was

²⁵² I have given an Abstract of the Treaty referred to here in the *Book of the Indians*, 231.

²⁵³ He is usually styled Sachem of the Nianticks. But the Nianticks were a Tribe of Narragansets. Nini-

gret's Seat was in what is since Westerly, R. I., formerly a Part of Stonington. Its Indian Name was *Misquamicoock*, or *Misquamicut*.—Parsons, *Indian Names*, 15. Arnold, *Hist. Rhode Island*, i, 276.

two Shillings a Pint with them. Yet notwithstanding all their Difficulties, they rather delayed the Time till they could get away, than really endeavoured the making a Peace, as was soon manifest: for that young insolent Sachim *Canonchet*, and *Panoquin*,²⁵⁴ said they would fight it out to the last Man, rather than they would become Servants to the English.

Jan. 10. Fresh Supplies of Soldiers came up from *Boston*, wading through a sharp Storm of Snow, that bit some of them by the Heels with the Frost.²⁵⁵ The next Day one that came with them, going out with the Scouts fell amongst the Indian-Barns, in one of which he was groping to find Corn for the Relief of his Horse, he caught hold of an *Indians* Hair under the Leaves, who presently held up his Hands when the Soldier was drawing his Sword, to spare his Life, which was granted; but after he was brought to the Head Quarters he would own nothing but what [59] was forced out of his Mouth, by the Wounding²⁵⁶ of his Head with a Cord; wherefore he was presently judged to die as a *Wampanoog*.

Jan. 12. Another Messenger came from *Canoncus*, desiring the Space of a Month longer, wherein to issue the Treaty, which so provoked the Commander of our Forces, that they resolved

²⁵⁴ The same elsewhere called *Quinnapin*. He was Son of a noted Chief named *Conjanaquond*, and a Brother-in-law to King Philip.— See *Book of the Indians*, 239, 241

²⁵⁵ A Letter dated February 9th, 1675-6, says: "Care is now taken

to raise a thousand Men more to attend the General, which will suddenly march; What the Issue will be the Lord only knows." *Gbro-nicle*, 51.

²⁵⁶ Winding a Cord tightly round the Head. A naval Term.

to have no more Treaties with the Enemy, but prepare to assault them, with Gods Assistance, as soon as ever the Season would permit; and it was high Time to take up that Resolution; for within a few Days after, they understood by some that were taken Prisoners, that the Enemy were gone, or going into the *Nipmunk Country*.

Within a few Days after, about *Jan. 16th*, the Scouts brought in one *Joshua Tift*, a Renegado English man of *Providence*, that upon some Discontent amongst his Neighbours, had turned *Indian*, married one of the *Indian Squaws*, renounced his Religion, Nation and natural Parents all at once, fighting against them. He was taken by Captain *Fenner* of *Providence*, who with some of his Neighbours were pursuing some *Indians* that had driven away their Cattel. This *Tift* being one of the Company, was wounded in the Knee, and so was seized by the English; he had in his Habit conformed himself to them amongst whom he lived. After Examination, he was condemned to die the Death of a Traytor. As to his Religion he was found as ignorant as an Heathen, which no doubt caused the fewer Tears to be shed at his Funeral; Standers by being unwilling to lavish Pity upon him that had divested himself of Nature itself, as well as Religion, in a Time when so much Pity was needed elsewhere, and nothing left besides wherewith to relieve the Sufferers.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁷ Could there have been a fair Court-martial upon the Victim, we might have had a different Account of *Tift*. See Roger Williams' Let-

Jan. 21. Capt. *Prentice* his Troop being abroad met with a Party of the Enemy, of whom they took two Prisoners, and killed nine, in which Exploit something hapned very remarkable; for one *W. Dodge*²⁵⁸ of *Salem*, riding in Company with another Friend, they hapned to meet with two *Indians*. The said *Dodge* being better horsed than his Friend, made after the foremost, leaving his Friend to deal with the hindmost; but his Pistol missed firing; whereupon the *Indian* taking him by the Leg turn'd him off his Horse, and getting upon him was about killing him with his Knife, which *W. Dodge* by chance espied, and came time enough to rescue his Friend, and dispatch the *Indian* lying upon him, and yet overtook the first *Indian* he was pursuing, time enough to do his Business also: by that Means he did three good Offices at once, saved the Life of one Friend, and slew two of his Enemies. But within two or three Days after, the Weather much altering from what it was, induced our Forces to take the first Opportunity to pursue the Enemy, who as they under[60]stood by Messengers from *Providence*, were now upon their Flight into the *Nipmuck-Country*: But so many Difficulties were cast in

ters lately published in Vol. 36, *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, 307, 311. Mr. Williams attended the Examination of Tift, and took down his Replies to Questions then put to him, the Substance of which he embodied in a Letter to Gov. Leverett. From that Communica-

tion Tift does not appear to have been such a Wretch as here represented. See also Mather's *Brief History*, 108.

²⁵⁸ Probably William, Son of William Dodge, whom we find at Salem, 1629. See Felt, *History of Salem*, i, 99.

their Way, that they could not be ready time enough to prevent the Mischief they did at *Warwick*, as they took their Farewell of their Country :²⁵⁹ For,

Jan. 27. They despoiled Mr. *Carpenter* of two hundred Sheep, and fifty Head of Neat Cattel, and fifteen Horses; all which they drove along with them, and were gone too far to be rescued before our Forces set out. Two that belonged to the said *Carpenter* were wounded,²⁶⁰ and one of the Enemies slain. As they marched after the Enemy, they found a good House burned, with a Barn belonging to it. They perceived also that the Enemy dealt much in Horse-flesh, meeting with no less than sixty Horses Heads in one Place, which they had left behind them: our Soldiers in their Pursuit came upon their Reer, killed and took about seventy of them, yet could never come to

²⁵⁹ "The Winter being now broken up, and the Snow and Ice all gone, our Army, consisting in all of 1600 Men, began their March to the Rocks, where the Indians were fled for Protection; but in their Way they had Intelligence that 300 Indians had been at Patuxit, an English Plantation on the Narraganset Bay, where they burnt Mr. Carpenter's Corn and Hay, and all his Houses except his Dwelling-house, which likewise they had set on Fire, but it was again quenched by some English that were in it. They likewise drove away with them 180 Sheep, 50 Head of large Cattle, and 15 Horses:

Besides they took much Cattel from young Mr. Harris, and killed a Negro-servant of his," *Chronicle*, 58. The young Mr. Harris was probably Mr. Andrew Harris, Son of William Harris who went to Providence with Roger Williams.

²⁶⁰ This may be an Error, for it will be seen by the last Note, that nothing is said about any one's being wounded; and the Author of that Information appears to have written from personal Knowledge. The Mr. Carpenter who met with so large a Loss, was probably William, Son of William of Providence the Emigrant.

charge them, for they would presently betake themselves into Swamps, and not two of them run together, so as they saw it was an endless Work to proceed further in the Chase of such an Enemy; but our Forces having pursued them into the Woods between *Marlborough* and *Brookfield*, in the Road toward *Connecticut*, were constrained to turn down to *Boston* in the Beginning of *February*, for want of Provision both for themselves and their Horses, which gave an Occasion to the Loss of those lesser Towns that were destroyed by the *Nipnet-Indians*, who presently joined with the *Narbaganjets* upon their first approach, as shall be related afterwards.

About the tenth of *February* next, some hundreds of the *Indians*, (whether *Nipnets* or *Nashaway-men* is uncertain) belonging to him they call *Sagamore Sam*, and possibly some of the stoutest of the *Narbaganjets* that had escaped the Winter-brunt, fell upon *Lancaster*, a small Village of about fifty or sixty Families, and did much Mischief, burning most of the Houses that were not Garrisoned:²⁶¹ and which is most sad and awful to consider, the House of Mr. *Rowlandson*,²⁶² Minister of the said *Lancaster*, which was Garrisoned with a competent Number of the Inhabitants; yet the Forti-

²⁶¹ Two of the Praying Indians had been sent out among the hostile Indians as Spies, by General Gookin, with the Approbation of Government. They gave Information, which if it had been heeded,

would have saved Lancaster, and perhaps other Towns.

²⁶² Mr. Joseph Rowlandson—Some Account of him in Felt's *Ipswich*, 74, Wisner's *History Old South*, 84, and Allen, *Biog. Dict.*

fication of the House being on the Backside, closed up with Fire-wood, the *Indians* got so near as to fire a Leantoo, which burning the House immediately to the Ground, all the Persons therein were put to that hard Choice, either to perish by the Flames with the House, or to yield themselves into the Hands of those cruel *Salvages*; which last (considering that a living Dog is better than a dead Lion) they chose, and so were forty two Persons surprized by the *Indians*. Above twenty of the Women and Children they carried away Captive, a rueful Spectacle to behold; the rest being Men, they killed in [61] the Place, or reserved for further Misery: and many of the rest that were not slain in fighting, were killed in attempting to escape. The Minister himself was occasionally absent, to seek Help from the Governour, and Council to defend that Place, who returning, was entertained with the tragical News of his Wife and Children surprized, and being carried away by the Enemies, and his House turned into Ashes; yet it pleased God so to uphold his Heart, comforting himself in his God, as *David* at *Ziklag*, that he would always say, *he believed he should see his Wife and Children again*, which did in like Manner soon come to pass within five or six Months after; all save the youngest, which being wounded at the first, died soon after among the *Indians*.

And such was the Goodness of God to those poor captive Women and Children, that they

found so much Favour in the Sight of their Enemies, that they offered no Wrong to any of their Persons, save what they could not help, being in many Wants themselves; Neither did they offer any uncivil Carriage to any of the Females, nor ever attempted the Chastity of any of them, either being restrained of God, as was *Abimelech* of old; or by some accidental Cause, which held them from doing any Wrong in that Kind.²⁶³

Upon the Report of this Disaster, Capt. *Wadsworth* then at *Marlborough* with about forty resolute Men, adventuring the rescuing of the Town that was remaining; and having recovered a Bridge, they gat over safe, though the Planks were pulled off by the Enemy; and being led up in a Way not discovered by them, they forced the *Indians* for the present to quit the Place, after they had burnt and destroyed the better Half of it. Yet afterwards it not being judged tenable, it was abandoned to the Pleasure of the insulting Foe.²⁶⁴

Ten Days after, they were so flushed with this Success, that two or three hundred of them came wheeling down to *Medfield*, a Town twenty Miles from *Boston*, westward from *Dedham*, which they surprized very early in the Morning (and though there were one hundred and sixty Soldiers in it or more, besides the Inhabitants) they burnt near

²⁶³ This is what Mrs. Rowlandson has narrated in the Narrative of her Captivity.

²⁶⁴ Lancaster was a flourishing Town, and had been settled about

thirty Years. The Author has given further Details of its Destruction in another Part of his Work. See *Table, No. 21.* See also Willard's *Hist. of Lancaster*, in *Worcester Magazine*.

one Half of the Town, killing about twenty Persons; but by the Resistance of the Soldiers, as soon as ever they could be gotten together (it being at or before break of Day, none in the least suspecting such an Assault so early) they were quickly forced to forsake the Place, and so (not without some loss) took their Way to *Plimouth Colony*.²⁶⁵

The Western Towns above *Connecticut*, were the chief Seat of the War, and felt most of the Mischiefs thereof in the End of the Year 1675: but the Scene is now to be changed; and the other Towns and the Vil[62]lages that lye Eastward nearer *Boston*, must bear their Part in the like Tragedies: for as was said before, the *Narragansets* having been driven out of the Country, fled through *Nipnet Plantations*, towards *Watchujet Hills*²⁶⁶ meeting with all the *Indians* that had harboured all Winter in those Woods about *Nash-away*; they all combined together against the English, yet divided their Numbers, and one half of them were observed to bend their Course towards *Plimouth*, taking *Medfield* in their Way, which they endeavoured to burn and spoil, Feb.

²⁶⁵ I have given the Names of the Killed in Medfield as far as could be ascertained by the Rev. Dr. Sanders, and inserted in his *Century Sermon* in that Town, delivered in 1817, in a Note in Mather's *Brief History*, 120. In his *Table*, No. 28, the Author says "17 were slain." but Dr. Sanders found but sixteen.

²⁶⁶ Now usually called *Wachusett Mountain*. It is in the Town of Princeton in Worcester County. *Princeton* was thus named for the Rev. Thomas Prince of Boston, a large Proprietor of Land there, so well known for his Researches into the early History of New England.

21. 1675, as their Fellows had done *Lancaster* ten Days before.

The Surprizal of this *Medfield* in regard of some remarkable Circumstances it was attended with, is not unworthy a more particular relating the Manner thereof: the Loss of *Lancaster* had sufficiently awakened and alarmed the neighbouring Villages, all to stand upon their Guard; and some had obtained Garison-Soldiers for their greater Security, as was the Case with the Town of *Medfield*, within twenty two Miles of *Boston*. And at that Time were lodged therein several Garison Soldiers, besides the Inhabitants; yet being bil-lated up and down in all quarters of the Town, could not be gathered together till a great part of the Town was set on fire, and many of the Inhabitants slain; which how it could be effected, is strange to believe: But most of those inland Plantations being over run with young Wood (the Inhabitants being every where apt to engross more Land into their Hands than they were able to subdue) as if they were seated amidst of a Heap of Bushes, their Enemies took the Advantage thereof, and secretly over-night, conveyed themselves round about the Town, some getting under the Sides of the Barns and Fences of their Orchards, as is supposed, where they lay hid under that Covert, till break of Day, when they suddenly set upon sundry Houses, shooting them that came first out of their doors, and then fired their Houses, especially those Houses where the Inhab-

itants were repaired to Garifons [and] were fit for the Purpose: some were killed as they attempted to fly to their Neighbours for Shelter: some were only wounded, and some taken alive and carried Captive; in some Houses the Husband running away with one Child, the Wife with another, of whom the one was killed, the other escaped: they began at the East-end of the Town, where they fired the House of one *Samuel Morfe*,²⁶⁷ that seems to have been a Signal to the rest to fall on in other Parts, most of the Houses in the West or Southwest end of the Town were soon burnt down; and generally when they burnt any Out houses the Cattel in them were burnt also. Two Mills belonging to the Town were burnt also: a poor old Man of near an hundred Years old,²⁶⁸ was burnt in one of the Houses that were consumed by Fire. The Lieutenant of the Town, *Adams* by Name,²⁶⁹ was shot down by his own Door, and his Wife mortally wounded by a Gun fired afterwards accidentally in the House.²⁷⁰ After the burning of forty or fifty Houses and Barns, the Cannibals were frighted away out of

²⁶⁷ Professor Abner Morfe has given an interesting Account of the Affairs of Medfield at this Period, in his *History of Sherburne*.

²⁶⁸ His Name was John Fufill. The Name Fufill is not found in Farmer's *Register*, and all Savage found is,—“Fufill, John, Weymouth, 1640. Joshua, Medfield, 1649.”

²⁶⁹ Henry, Son of the first Henry Adams of Braintree. His Wife was Elizabeth Paine. These were the immediate Ancestors of the well known Authorefs, Miss HANNAH ADAMS, formerly of Boston.

²⁷⁰ This painfully agonizing Circumstance is minutely detailed by Gen. Gookin, and also in the *Book of the Indians*, 221.

the Town over a Bridg that lies upon *Charles River*, by the shooting off a Peice of Ordnance two or three times : when they had passed over the Bridge they fired one End thereof to hinder our Men from pursuing them ; they were thought to be above five hundred. There were slain and mortally wounded seventeen or eighteen Persons, besides others dangerously hurt. The Loss sustained by the Inhabitants amounted to above two thousand Pounds. This Mercy was observed in this sad Providence, that never a Garison-house was lost in this surprisal ; nor any of the principal Dwellings ; so as the chiefeft and best of their Building escaped the Fury of the Enemy, who as they passed the Bridg, left a Writing behind them, expressing something to this Purpose, that we had provoked them to Wrath, and that they would fight with us this twenty Years (but they fell short of their Expectation by nineteen) adding also, that they had nothing to lose, whereas we had Houses, Barns and Corn :²⁷¹ these were some of the bold Threats used by the barbarous Crew, but their Rage shall proceed no further than the Counsel of God had determined. The Week before was heard a very hideous Cry of a

²⁷¹ This Writing was a Sort of Letter, written as insultingly as the Author's Knowledge of the English Language would allow. It may have been the Work of James-the-Printer. It was thus : " Know by this Paper, that the Indians that thou hast provoked to Wrath and Anger will war

this twenty-one Years, if you will. There are many Indians yett We come 300 at this Time. You must consider that the Indians lose nothing but their Life. You must lose your fair Houses and Cattle." *Book of the Indians*, 221. Contents are given by the Author sufficient for his Purpose.

Kennel of Wolves round the Town, which raised some of the Inhabitants and was looked upon by divers as an ominous Presaging of this following Calamity.

Another Assault was feared ; but as soon as the Soldiers could be gathered together, they turned their Backs, as if they never intended to visit them more ; whither these *Indians* went when they left *Medfield* is not so certainly known ; the Soldiers in the Town not having Opportunity to pursue them over the River, by Reason that the Bridge was part of it burned ; but it is most probable that they took their Way toward *Plimouth*, and continued about that Side of the Country for the Future, waiting Opportunities to do what Mischief they could to the English in those Parts : For within a Month after this Assault of *Medfield*, there was near six hundred of them seen about *Patuxit*²⁷² and Providence, where Capt. *Pierce* with about fifty of his Men were lost, though with no great Advantage to the Enemy, who at that Time lost above double that Number : our worthy Captains in this and other Exploits being called to imitate *Sampson*, who was content to die with his Enemies that he might overthrow them thereby ; it having so fallen out with many of our choice Commanders, and Soldiers at *Deerfield*,

²⁷² A small River that empties into Narraganset Bay about four Miles southeasterly of Providence. See *Table*, No. 20. It is often confounded with Pawtucket, as is the Case in this Instance, and elsewhere. They may have been named from the same Peculiarity.

Narhaganfet, *Patuxit*, and likewise not long after at *Sudbury*.²⁷³

[64] The Governour and Council of *Plimouth* perceiving by the Report of these Outrages committed upon the Towns of the *Massachusetts*, that they were likely to be visited this Spring by their old Neighbours, sent out Capt. *Pierce* of *Scituate*,²⁷⁴ about the latter end of *March*, with about fifty English, and twenty of their Christian Indians about *Cape Cod*, who proved none of his worst Soldiers, as the Sequel of this his last Expedition will declare.²⁷⁵

Capt. *Pierce*, as is said before, being sent out to pursue the Enemy, marched towards *Patuxet*, where he understood the *Indians* were many of them gathered together: he being a Man of resolute Courage, was willing to engage them, though upon never so great Disadvantage: some say the *Indians* by Counterfeiting, drilled him into a kind of Ambush; possibly more of them discovered themselves after he began to engage, than he was aware of: and being gotten over the

²⁷³ Or, we should now say, At Bloody Brook, Narraganfet Fort, and the Defeat and Death of Capt. Wadsworth.

²⁷⁴ Michael Pierce had been a Resident in Hingham and Weymouth before he went to Scituate. See Deane's *History of Scituate*, 325.

²⁷⁵ On the 29th of February, 1675-6, the Council of Plymouth ordered, "that the Souldiers now

under Presse, from the southern Townes be at Plymouth on Wednesday, the 8th of this Instant, in order vnto a further March, and with them 20 or 30 of the southern Indians, whoe together with the other whoe are vnder Presse, to goe forth vnder the Comand of Captaine Michael Peirse and Lieftenant Samuell Fuller." *Plymouth Colonial Records*, v, 187.

River in Pursuit of them, where he discovered so great a Number of them, he drew down towards the Side of the River, hoping the better by that Means to prevent their surrounding of him, but that proved his Overthrow which he intended as his greatest Advantage: for the *Indians* getting over the River, so galled him from thence, that he was not able to defend himself thus Assaulted on all Sides, and himself not being able to travel much a foot, was thereby hindred, from retiring to any better Place in time; so as he saw himself constrained to fight it out to the last; which he did with most undaunted Courage, and as is said, to the Slaughter of an hundred and forty of his Enemies,²⁷⁶ before himself and his Company were cut off. It is said also, that being apprehensive of the Danger he was in, by the great Numbers of the Enemy, like to overpower him with their Multitude, he sent a Messenger,²⁷⁷ timely enough to *Providence*, for Relief; but (as *Solomon* saith, *A faithful Messenger is as Snow in Harvest: another*

²⁷⁶ It is not probable that much over half of that Number was killed.

²⁷⁷ On the Morning of March 26th, being in Garrison at Rehoboth, and learning there was a Body of Indians at Pawtucket Falls, Capt. Pierce dispatched a Letter to Capt. Edmunds at Providence, requesting his coöperation against those Indians. But the Messenger by whom the Letter was sent, arriving at Providence after the Forenoon Service had commenced (for it was Sunday)

waited till that was over before delivering it. As soon as Capt. Edmunds had read it, he impatiently exclaimed, "It is now too late," and sharply reprimanded the Bearer for neglecting to deliver the Letter at once. See Backus, *History of New England*, 1, 423; Blifs, *History of Rehoboth*, 90. Mr. Blifs mistook the Name of Capt. *Edmunds*, giving it as *Edwards*. He is the same Capt. Andrew Edmunds mentioned in *Note* 149.

is as *Smoak to the Eyes and Vinegar to the Teeth*) whether through Sloth or Cowardice, is not much material, this Message was not delivered to them to whom it was immediately sent; by Accident only some of *Rehoboth* understanding of the Danger, after the Evening Exercise (it being on the Lords Day, March 26. 1676) repaired to the Place; but then it was too late to bring help, unless it were to be Spectators of the dead Carcasses of their Friends, and to perform the last Office of Love to them.²⁷⁸

It is worth the noting, what Faithfulness and Courage some of the Christian *Indians* with the said Capt. *Peirce* shewed in the Fight: one of them, *Amos*²⁷⁹ by Name, after the Captain was shot in his Leg or Thigh, so as he was not able to stand any longer, would not leave him, but charging his Gun several Times, fired stoutly upon the Enemy, till he [65] saw that there was no possibility for him to do any further good to Capt. *Pierce*, nor yet to save himself, if he stayed any longer; therefore he used this Policy, perceiving the Enemy had all blacked their Faces, he also stooping down, pulled out some Blacking out of a Pouch he carried with him, discoloured his Face therewith, and so making himself as like

²⁷⁸ The Place where this Battle was fought is minutely described by Mr. Bliss in his *History of Rehoboth*, 88, but he does not mention *Abbot's Run*, nor could he decide with Certainty the precise Point on the River where it took place, owing to his

using a Copy of Hubbard with Omissions. See *Table*, No. 20.

²⁷⁹ *Amos*, so casually mentioned here was a Warrior of greater Renown than many who have received voluminous Distinction. He was well known as *Capt. Amos*, and be-

*Hobamacko*²⁸⁰ as any of his Enemies: he ran amongst them a little while, and was taken for one of themselves, as if he had been searching for the English, until he had an Opportunity to escape away among the Bushes: therein imitating the Cuttle-fish, which when it is pursued, or in danger, casteth out of its Body a thick Humor, as black as Ink, through which it passes away unseen by the Pursuer.

It is reported of another of these *Cape Indians* (Friends to the English of *Plimouth*) that being pursued by one of the Enemies, he betook himself to a great Rock, where he sheltered himself for a while; at last perceiving that his Enemy lay ready with his Gun on the other Side, to discharge upon him, as soon as he stir'd never so little away from the Place where he stood: in the issue he thought of this politick Stratagem to save himself and destroy his Enemy, (for as *Solomon* said of old, *Wisdom is better than Weapons of War* :) he took a Stick, and hung his Hat upon it, and then by degrees gently lifted it up, till he thought it would be seen and so become a fit Mark for the other that watched to take aim at him: the other taking it to be his Head, fired a Gun, and shot through the Hat; which our Christian Indian perceiving, boldly held up his

sides serving with high Reputation in this War, he served with equal Distinction in the Eastern War under Major Church. See *Book of the Indians*, 269-70.

²⁸⁰ A Name given by the Indians to an imaginary Evil-spirit, corresponding to that of *Devil* with the English. Why the early Friend of the Pilgrims was so called is not known.

Head and discharged his own Gun upon the real Head, not the Hat of his Adversary, whereby he shot him dead upon the Place, and so had liberty to march away with the Spoils of his Enemy.

The like subtle Device was used by another of the *Cape Indians* at the same Time, being one of them that went out with Capt. *Pierce*; for being in like Manner pursued by one of *Philip's Indians*, as the former was, he nimbly got behind the But-end of a Tree newly turned up by the Roots, which carried a considerable Breadth of the Surface of the Earth along with it (as is very usual in these Parts, where the Roots of the Trees lie very fleet in the Ground) which stood up above the Indians Height in Form of a large Shield, only it was somewhat too heavy to be easily wielded or removed: the Enemy-Indian lay with his Gun ready to shoot him down, upon his first dissenting his Station; but a subtle Wit taught our Christian *Netop*²⁸¹ a better Device; for boring a little Hole through this his broad Shield, he discerned his Enemy, who could not so easily discern him; a good Musketer need never desire a fairer Mark to shoot at; whereupon discharging his Gun, he shot him down: what can be more just than that he should himself be killed, who lay in [66] wait to kill another Man?

*Neque enim Lex justior ulla est,
Quam necis Artifices arte perire sua.*

²⁸¹ This was the Word for *Friend* among the New England Indians.

Instances of this Nature shew the Subtilty and Dexterousness of these Natives, if they were improved in Feats of Arms : and possibly if some of the English had not been too shy in making use of such of them as were well affected to their interest, they need never have suffered so much from their Enemies : it having been found upon late Experience, that many of them have proved not only faithful, but very serviceable and helpful to the English ; they usually proving good Seconds, though they have not ordinarily Confidence enough to make the first Onset.

But to return to the Proceeding of the *Indians* toward *Plimouth* :

Feb. 25, They assaulted *Weymouth*, and burned seven or eight Houses and Barns there, which *Weymouth* is a Town lying towards *Plimouth Colony*.²⁸²

March 12. following, They assaulted the House of one Mr. *Clark* in *Plimouth*, cruelly murdering eleven Persons that belonged to two Families that lodged therein, and then fired the House. The Cruelty towards these Persons was the more

²⁸² Baylies, the Old Colony Historian, adds nothing to this Account of the burning of *Weymouth* ; nor do others who have written on this War. The Town having been deserted, there was not much to be said except in giving the Names of the Owners and their Losses. There was a *Weymouth* man named *Richard Rus*, with Capt. Mosely in

his Fight with the Indians who defeated Capt. Lothrop, who was severely wounded in the Abdomen ; “ the Bullet carrying in with it the Ring of his Bandileer. The Ring remained in the Wound about three Years, and was then “ cut out by a Dutch Chirurgeon,” who charged him forty Shillings for the Operation.—*MS. Petition*,

remarkable, in that they had often received much Kindness from the said *Clark*. It is the usual Custome of such Debtors to use them worst, of whom they have taken up much Kindness upon trust before hand.²⁸³

March 17. Another Party of them fell upon *Warwick*, a Place beyond *Philip's* Land, toward the *Narbaganset* Country, where they burnt down to the Ground all but a few Houses, left standing as a Monument of their barbarous Fury.²⁸⁴ The like Mischiefs were acted by them upon the Houses of the English remaining in the *Narbaganset* Country.²⁸⁵

This 26 of *March* being the first Day of the Week, as the first of the Year after our *Julian* account, seemed ominous at the first on sundry Accounts, threatening a gloomy Time, yet proved in the Issue but as a louring Morning before a lightsome Day : For besides the burning of *Marlborough*, at least a great Part of it on the same Day, a very sad Accident fell out the same Time at *Springfield*, as shall be specified hereafter ; be-

²⁸³ Mr. Clark's House was about two Miles from the Village of Plymouth, at a Place called *Eel River*. I have given from unpublished MSS. and other Sources, the most of what is to be learned respecting that shocking Affair, in the *Book of the Indians*, 245-6. See also Dr. I. Mather, *Brief Hist.*, Appendix, 252-3.

²⁸⁴ "The Town was entirely destroyed, except one House built of Stone that could not be burnt. Only

one of the Inhabitants was slain."—Arnold, *History of Rhode Island*, i, 408. The Name of the Person slain is not given. The Inhabitants had fled to the Island some time before.

²⁸⁵ It is not clear to what particular Houses the Author refers ; perhaps he has reference to the general Devastation in that Region. Mr. Potter's *History of Narraganset* does not aid us.

sides that which befell Capt. *Pierce*, which is already related, with whom fell so many of his Soldiers on the same day also: yet had the Enemy no Cause to boast, being forced by the Valor of the English, to give so many of their own Lives in exchange: some Few made their Escape, as is said by subtil devices: besides the three fore-mentioned, another by a like Shift, not only saved himself, but helped an English-man to escape also, whom he ran after with his Hatchet in his Hand, as if he were about to kill him; whereby both of them made a shift to get away: the Rest were all lost (the Unfaithfulness of the Messenger being as was intimated before [67] the Cause of their Slaughter) unto a Few that hardly escaped by the Advantage of the Bushes, giving them Opportunity to pass unseen: yet was it confessed by a Prisoner of the Enemy, taken afterwards by the English, that they lost an hundred and forty in that Encounter.²⁸⁶ And had not the said English by wading after the Enemy over a River, made their Amunition useles, there had not Half so many of them been cut off. From thence they turned back towards *Reboboth* near *Swanzy*, where on *March* 28, they burnt thirty Barns, and near upon forty dwelling Houses, thereby as it were threatning the utter Desolation of that poor Town;²⁸⁷ and so proceeding on

²⁸⁶ Statements of Deserters and Confessions of Captives are so often Exaggerations or real Fabrications, that little Dependence can be placed upon them.

²⁸⁷ Mr. Bliss has, in his excellent *History of Reboboth*, given numerous Particulars of the Destruction of that Town, written and traditi-
onary, which the most diligent

that Side the Country, they burnt the very next Day about thirty Houses in *Providence* in the Way toward *Narbaganfet*.²⁸⁸

But it was now full Sea with *Philip* his Affairs : for soon after the Tide of his Successes began to turn about the Sea-coast, which made Way for the falling of the Water up higher in the Country. For about this Time News came to *Boston* that our Neighbours and Friends of *Connecticut Colony*, hearing of the Attempts of the Enemy on that Side of the Country, sent a Party of their Soldiers, under the Command of Capt. *George Denison* ; with some friendly *Indians*, part *Mohegins* and *Pequods*, part *Nyanticks* belonging to *Ninigret* a *Narbaganfet Sachem*, who never engaged in this

and persevering Research could lay open. And here, in passing, it may be proper to pay a Tribute of respect to a talented and worthy young Man, who fell an early Sacrifice to that savage Arrogance which is now sacrificing so many on Southern Battle-fields. He emigrated to Louisville, Ky., in 1837, and was there assassinated by a Wretch for some Newspaper Remark, in 1842. His native Town should (if it has not) erect a Monument to his Memory.

²⁸⁸ Some Details of the first Interest respecting the Destruction of Providence will be found in Backus's *History of New England*, i, 424. The Indians had always great Respect for Roger Williams. He was now an old Man, about 77. "When the Indians ap-

peared on the high Lands north of their great Cove, Mr. Williams took his Staff and walked over towards them, hoping likely to pacify them as he had often done ; but when some of their aged Men saw him, they came out and met him, and told him that though those who had long known him would not hurt him, yet their young Men were so enraged that it was not safe for him to venture among them ; upon which he returned to the Garrison. The House where their Records were kept was plundered, and they thrown into the Mill-pond, but were recovered, though by that Means some Passages are not legible, and likely many Articles were lost." See also Arnold's *History of Rhode Island*, i, 408-9. Staples, *Annals of Providence*, 165-6.

Quarrel against the English; who in Pursuit of the Enemy meeting with a considerable Part of them about the *Narbaganset Country*, killed and took forty and five of them, without the Loss of one of their own Men. This Victory was the more considerable, in that several of the chief Captains of the Enemy were at this Time killed or taken; amongst whom was *Canonchit* (who came down to get Seed-corn to plant at *Squakbeag*) he was the chief *Sachem* of all the *Narbagansets*: the son of *Miantonimoh*, and the Heir of all his Fathers Pride and Insolency, as well as of his Malice against the English; a most perfidious Villian, who had the last *October* been at *Boston*,²⁸⁹ pretending to make a firm Peace with the English, but never intending to keep one Article thereof: Therefore as a just Reward of his Wickedness was he adjudged by those that took him, to die, which was accordingly put in execution at *Stonington*, whither he was carried: There his head being cut off, was carried to *Hartford*:²⁹⁰ The *Mohegins* and *Pequods* that had the honour to take him Prisoner, having the Honour likewise of doing Justice upon him, and that by the prudent Advice of the English Commanders, thereby the

²⁸⁹ The Author has once before referred to that Treaty, but has nowhere explained it. It is an Omision extraordinary in a History of this War. The Preliminaries which led to it are everywhere defective. It is given in Full in Hazard's *Historical Collections*, ii 536-7; *Ply-*

mouth Colony Records, x, 360-1; and the Substance of it in the *Book of the Indians*, 231.

²⁹⁰ His Name to the Treaty (mentioned in the last Note) is *Quanancbett*; but *Nanuntenoo* was also a Name by which he was well known. See *Postscript*.

more firmly to engage the said *Indians* against the treacherous *Narbagansets*. There are differing Reports about the Manner of his Taking, and by whom, whither the *Indians* or the English first took him; however it was sufficient Matter of rejoicing to all the Colonies of the English, [68] that the Ring-leader of almost all this Mischeif, and great Incendiary betwixt the *Narbagansets* and us, died himself by that Sword of War which he had drawn against others.²⁹¹

Not long after Capt. *George Denison* of *Stonington*, with sixty six Volunteers, and an hundred and twelve *Pequods*, killed and took seventy and six of the Enemy, amongst whom were two *Narbaganset* Sachims, one of which was the Grand-child of *Pomham* (who is accounted the most warlike and the best Soldier of all the *Narbaganset Sachems*) taking at the same Time 160 Bushels of the Enemies Corn, no small Damage to our Enemies at that Time, and all this without the Loss of one Man of the said Captains Followers.²⁹²

The greatest Mischief which after this Time was done by the Enemy in *Plimouth Colony*, was by burning of Houses and Barns, which they might easily do, the Inhabitants in most of those Towns being repaired to garrison Houses for their greater Security: For about the 20th of *April*,

²⁹¹ Other and more full Particulars are given by the Author in the *Postscript*.

²⁹² This is the particular Field

of the Connecticut Historians, but Dr. Trumbull found it barren, and adds nothing to the Account of our Author.

fifty of the Enemy burnt about nineteen Houses and Barns at *Scituate*, but were so resolutely encountered by a few of the Inhabitants, that they were driven away, and thereby prevented from doing of further Mischief.²⁹³

Not long after, *May* 8, they burned about seventeen Houses and Barns in *Bridgewater*, a small Town in *Plimouth Colony*, ten or twelve Miles on this side *Taunton*, but it pleased God just at the Time to send a Thunder-shower, which put out the Fire, or else it might have prevailed much further.²⁹⁴

It is very remarkable, that the Inhabitants of the said *Bridgewater* never yet lost one Person by the Sword of the Enemy, though the Town is scituate within *Plimouth Colony*; yet have they helped to destroy many of the Enemy. *None knows either Love or Hatred by all that is before them in Things of this Nature*: nor ought standers by that may escape, think themselves less Sinners than those that so perish by the Sword of the Enemy: Yet about this Time four of the Inhabitants of *Taunton* were killed, as they were at their work in the Field, whereby it is said, thirty Children were made Fatherless:²⁹⁵ *So unsearcha-*

²⁹³ Justice cannot be done to suffering Scituate in the Circle of a Note, and the Reader that would be fully informed must recur to Mr-Deane's History of that Town, one of the best of our local Histories. The Attack on Scituate was May 20th. See *Page* 125.

²⁹⁴ See Dr. I. Mather's *Brief History*, 143-4.

²⁹⁵ "The Enemy have killed four stout Men at Taunton, and carried away two lusty Youths; Mr. Henry Andrews; James Bell, Sergeant Phillips, and the two two Youths, all at one Time, being

ble are the Judgments of the Almighty, and his Ways past finding out.

During these Calamities, Gods Dispensations have been very various, as well in reference unto Towns and Villages, as unto Persons: As if some Places had been by special Providence marked out to Preservation, as others unto destruction; of which no other Reason can be rendered according unto Man, than the good Pleasure of God so to order and dispose of Events, which *sometimes, as Solomon says, are all one to the Good, and to the Clean, and to the Unclean.*

[69] And because special Notice is taken of the Town of *Bridgwater*, the which although it is seated, as it were, in the midst of Danger, and hath been often assaulted by considerable Numbers of the Enemy, yet never lost any one of their Inhabitants, young or old; a particular Account shall here be given of the most remarkable Passages of divine Providence relating to that Plantation since the War began.

June 26, 1675, when *Philip's* Malice against the English, mixed with a particular Prejudice against Governour *Winslow*, began to boil up to the height of an open Rebellion, the people of *Swanzy* being like to be distressed by the *Indians*, a Post²⁹⁶ was instantly sent to the Governour of

securely planting two or three Miles from the Town. The other one, Leonard Babit, killed at another Place. The four Men leaving *thirty-two* fatherless children." Letter of Gov. Winslow to Thomas Hinckley, dated 23 May, 1676.

²⁹⁶ For a succinct chronological Detail of these early Events of the

Plimouth, the Way lying through *Bridgwater*, the said Post returned the next Day; and about nine or ten of the Clock, as he passed through the Town, left an Order from the Governour for the raising of 20 Men, well armed and furnished with Horses, to be forthwith dispatched away for the Relief of *Swanzy*; seventeen were all that could be raised on the Sudden, who were sent thither that Night, and were the first that were upon their March in all the Country;²⁹⁷ and possibly they fared not the worse for their Forwardness: as *Deborah* the Prophetess, blessed God for them *that offered themselves willingly among the People*; These seventeen of *Bridgwater* were June 21, ordered by Capt. *Bradford* to *Metapoisit* a Place at twelve Miles Distance from *Swanzy*, to strengthen the Garison at one *Bourn's* House, wherein were seventy Persons, amongst whom were only found sixteen Men. After they

War, See I. Mather, *Brief History*, 220. The Author having reviewed the Events which he had before narrated, gives the Result in this Place.

²⁹⁷ At this Time Affairs had become serious on the Pocasset Shore. Mr. Church had been forced to leave his Residence at Sogkonate, and was exerting himself to allay the Storm he found to be fast approaching. At the Residence of Weetamoo, "Queen of Pocasset," he received Information which scattered all Doubts respecting immediate Violence. Whereupon he

at once left that Side of the Country for Plymouth, to apprise the Authorities there of the Danger. "And he was so expeditious that he was with the Governor early next morning," which was Wednesday, June 16th, "though he waited on some of the Magistrates by the Way, who were of the Council of War, and who also met him at the Governors. He gave them an Account of his Observations and Discoveries, which confirmed their former Intelligences, and hastened their Preparation for Defence." Church, *Entertaining History*, 29.

had marched five Miles of their Way, having Mr. *Brown's* Son for their Pilot, they met with some *Swanzy* People, newly turned out of their Houses (by which they were to pass) who having not as yet resisted unto Blood, yet made doleful Lamentations, wringing of their Hands; and bewailing of their Losses, very much also perswading *Bridgwater*-men to turn back, because of the Danger; but they having so clear a call, had also more Courage than cowardly to desert the Cause of God and his People, lest they should thereby betray the Lives of so many of their Friends into the Enemies Hands; and so by the good Hand of God towards them, came safe to *Metapoiset* that Night.²⁹⁸

The next Day²⁹⁹ in the Morning, a Part of them went to guard Mr. *Brown* their Pilot back to his Quarters; in their return they came suddenly upon a Party of *Indians*, about thirty in all; they were within shot one of another, but the English having no Commission to fight, till they were assaulted, and not being impeached in their Passage, they returned safe to their Garrison at *Metapoiset*: the *Indians* presently drawing off, and firing three Guns (though not with intent to do them any [70] Hurt, as was conceived) gave a shout, and so left them, when this Party of the English drew near to their Garrison, they met with a Company of Carts going to fetch Corn from an House deserted near by, about a Quarter of a Mile off from Mr. *Bowne's* House; the Sol-

²⁹⁸ June 21st, 1675.

²⁹⁹ June 22d, 1675.

diers gave them notice of the *Indians* which they had discovered ; and withal advised them by no Means to venture any more, because of the danger ; but they were resolved notwithstanding these earnest persuasions of the Soldiers, to have another turn, which they soon found to be to the peril of their own Lives, six of them being presently after either killed right out, or mortally wounded, as soon as they came to the Barn where was the Corn ; these six are said to be the first that were slain in this Quarrel.³⁰⁰ The Soldiers at the Garison hearing the Guns, made what haste they could to the Place, but being most of them in that interim gone to look their Horses, they could not come Time enough to the Relief of their Friends ; yet upon their Approach they who had done the Mischief, presently fled away : one *Jones* hard pursued by two *Indians*, was by their coming delivered from the Extent of the Enemies Cruelty, but having received his mortal Wound, had only that favour thereby, to die in the Arms of his Friends, though by the Wounds received from his Enemies.

The next week, fifteen of those Soldiers looking after their Horses, fell into an Ambush of twenty of the *Indians*, but being prepared for the Encounter, they discharged their Guns upon each other : but our Men received no Hurt, some of them felt the Wind of the Bullets

³⁰⁰ From this Statement it would seem that the first persons killed at Swanzey were killed on the 22d of June, which I think is incorrect.

passing by their Faces: what Damage the Enemy received is Uncertain, yet some of the English report they found some of their Enemies dead Bodies in the Place afterward.³⁰¹

Thus were they not only preserved in many Perils themselves, but became Instrumental also for the Preservation of most of that Garrison; who with their Goods by their Means, with the Help of a small Party of *Plimouth* Forces sent thither after the six were killed (as is mentioned before) were soon after transported safely to *Road-Island*.³⁰²

Many Outrages were that Summer committed upon their Neighbors at *Taunton* and *Namasket*; yet it pleased God to protect this poor Town of *Bridgewater* from any other Hurt, till the beginning of *April* next, when themselves with their Neighbours of *Taunton* and *Rehoboth*, were strongly solicited to desert their Dwellings, and repair down to the Towns by the Sea-side; but God encouraged them to keep their Stations notwithstanding the extream danger then presented. It is reported that *Philip* gave order that *Taunton* and *Bridgewater* should not be destroyed till the last, which is all the favour to be expected from an Enemy [71] but these things are only in the Hands of God, and not determined by Man.

Apr. 9. being the Lords-day,³⁰³ a small Party

³⁰¹ I find nothing corresponding with this in the other Accounts of the War.

³⁰² That is, the People, I suppose who had been rescued in Bourne's

Garrison, as above related.

³⁰³ April 9, 1676. From a retrospective View of the early Events of the War, the Author jumps to the next Year.

of the Enemy came down upon the said *Bridge-water*, burnt an Outhouse and Barn, broke up and rifled several other Houses in the same Quarter of the Town, which are notwithstanding yet remaining; they sent out a Party of their Men to pursue them that Night, and many days after, but could not hear of them.

May 7. the Lords-day also (no doubt but the betterness of the Day will increase the badness of their Deed attempted thereon) they had Intelligence of a great Body of *Indians* dispersed that Way, with intent to have fallen upon the Town that very Day, but were casually prevented by a great deal of Rain that fell the Night before: however they were resolved to forego no Opportunity, wherefore on the next Day (*May 8.*) about three hundred of them, one *Tisguogen*³⁰⁴ being their chief Leader, at eight or nine in the Morning made an Assault upon the East-end of the Town, on the South-side of the River: many of the Inhabitants stayed at Home that Morning because of the Intelligence the Day before, and so were the more ready to entertain them; some that not taking that Warning ventured into the Field about their Occasions, were in Danger of surprizal, but by the special Favour of God escaped, and came time enough to help to defend their

³⁰⁴ The same called *Tispaquin* by Church, 96, who says he was a very famous Captain. In early *Records* he is called *Watuspaquin*, and some-
times *Tispaquin*, "the Black-Sachem." He was Chief of the Namaskets. See *Book of the Indians*, 193, 244.

own and their neighbours Dwellings, being shot at, and hard pursued a considerable way.

The *Indians* presently began to fire the Town, but it pleased God so to spirit and encourage several of the Inhabitants, issuing out of their Garison-houses, that they fell upon them with great Resolution, and beat them off, at the same Instant of Time, the Lord of Hosts also fighting for them from Heaven, by sending a Storm of Thunder and Rain very seasonably, which prevented the Burning of the Houses which were fired :³⁰⁵ The Soldiers also Fighting under the Banner of Gods special Protection were so successful in repelling the Enemy, that they neither had any of the Inhabitants killed or taken, and but one wounded. The *Indians* by this stout Resistance, being beaten off to the Skirts of the Town, made a fresh Onset upon another Quarter thereof, on the North-side of the River where they had done much more Mischief, but that God stirred up sundry of the People to venture out of their fortified Houses, who fired upon the Enemy, and beat them from their Dwellings, so as in the Evening they drew off to an Out-house, three Miles distant from the Town: the next Day the Inhabitants expected another Assault, but the Enemy having burned the House and Barn where they kept their Rendezvous over

³⁰⁵ Dr. Cotton Mather copies this Passage with a little Embellishment. See I. Mather, *Brief History*, 143, who says "the Lord in the Nick of

Time sent Thunder and Rain, which caused the Enemy to turn back."—*Ibid.* See Baylies' *Hist. New Plymouth*, iii, 120, 121, for other Facts.

Night, and one [72] House more not far distant, they marched all clear away for that Time.

Thus it pleased God so to order his Dispensations, toward this small Town, as a Brand plucked out of the Fire, that they did but just taste of this bitter Cup, which others drank deeper of, yet had they not such Mercy, as these had, mixed therewith: under God, the Courage of the Inhabitants was a great Means of their Preservation, for they fired so stoutly upon the Enemies, that they durst not come very near any of the Garisoned Houses, saluting them only at a Distance. God was eminently seen upholding the Spirits of all sorts, Men and Women, so as no Consternation of Mind was seen upon any of them, during the whole Time of the Dispute.

In this Assault they lost but thirteen Dwelling-houses, whereof five only were in the Town (the rest being Out-houses and deserted for the present) with some few Barns, and some of their Cattel; all which was a very inconsiderable Loss, in Comparison of what befell others, and themselves might have endured, if God had not by his special Favour prevented.³⁰⁶

July 14 & 15, Another Party of *Indians* came down upon the North-west Side of the Town, but with no better Success; for they had no Commission from the Lord of Hosts to touch any

³⁰⁶ The Reader must refer to *Affairs of that Town during Philip's Mitchell's History of Bridgwater War.* See also Baylies, as cited in the last Note.

of the Persons of the Inhabitants, their Power reaching only to the slaying of their Cattel at this Time.

July 18, 19, 20. They sent out Parties after the Enemy to pursue them by their Track, who fell upon some of them. On the twentieth they took sixteen, whereof two were Men: on this Day they had to assist them, it seems some of the *Bay-Indians* sent them from Capt. *Brattle*; some of the Captives informed, that there were but seventy or eighty in the Company, and but ten or twelve Men amongst them; but within a few Days, these *Bridgewater* Men shall find better Success in pursuit of their Enemies, when *Philip* himself shall hardly escape their Hands, as shall be seen afterwards.

While one Party of the Enemy thus acted their Part in and about *Plimouth Colony*, towards the Sea-coast, other Parties of them were not idle in the *Massachusetts Colony*, where they assaulted many Places, doing what Mischief they could by firing of Houses, and killing several Persons in the Inland Plantations.

March 2. They assaulted *Groton*:³⁰⁷ The next

³⁰⁷ The Town of Groton, like other frontier Towns, was in a deplorable Condition. On the 19th of Feb. preceding, the People by their Agents, Maj. Simon Willard and Capt. James Parker, sent a Petition to the General Court, in which they say: "The Enemy (as we groundedly suppose) waiting an

Opportunity against us; the Season of the Year calling to Employment, and hasting to pass away from us; ourselves brought into a narrow Compass, and ready to undergoe sore Suffering; . . . our Provisions neere consumed, and Souldiers quartered amongst us hastening the Expence of it, our Wives and Children,

Day over Night³⁰⁸ Major *Willard* with seventy Horse came into the Town; forty Foot also came up to their Relief from *Watertown*, but the *Indians* were all fled, having first burned all the Houses in the Town, save four that were Garisoned,³⁰⁹ [73] the Meeting-house, being the second House they fired. Soon after,³¹⁰ Capt. *Sill* was sent with a small Party of Dragoons of eight Files to fetch off the Inhabitants of *Groton*, and what was left from the Spoil of the Enemy, having under his conduct about sixty Carts, being in Depth from Front to Reer above two Miles: when a Party of *Indians* lying in Ambush at a

some removed, and others removing; our Cattel lying open to dayly Hazards. . . . These things portend to us a Famine and Poverty coming upon us with as great Fury on the one Hand, as the Enemy on the other," &c. This was forwarded by the Rev. Samuel Willard, Minister of the Town, who added his Entreaties to those of the Petitioners for Help. "Wee," say they, "humbly upon our Knees crave your Honours Direction and Assistance as the Lord shall direct."—*Petition in Manuscript.*

³⁰⁸ This "*next Day over Night*" has been supposed to be a Misprint. Mr. Butler in his *History of Groton*, 81, thinks it should be "*the next Day fortnight*," but even this does not agree with the Movements of Major Willard as to Time. Because it is pretty well settled that the final Destruction of the Town was on March 13th, and it is certain that

Willard was at Cambridge on the 4th of March transacting public Business. Our Author, as may have been seen, often gives a sort of Synopsis, or general Summary in a single Paragraph of several Circumstances, and then goes more into Detail. This was evidently his Course in narrating the Affairs of Groton. The true Solution of *the next Day over Night* is undoubtedly this: When the Author had written, "*March 2*, They assaulted Groton:"—that is, when the Destruction was completed by the Enemy—running through several Days,—the Day following, "*over Night*," the Major arrived.

³⁰⁹ Mr. Butler has probably located three of those Garrisons correctly. See *History of Groton*, 82.

³¹⁰ That is, soon after the general Destruction of the Town on the 13th. See I. Mather, *Brief History*.

Place of eminent Advantage, fired upon the Front, and mortally wounded two of the vaunt Carriers, who died both the next Night; and might (had God permitted) have done eminent Damage to the whole Body, it being a full Hour before the whole Body could be drawn up, which was done with Care and Courage: but the *Indians* after a few more Shot made, without doing Harm, retired and made no further Assault upon them, being the same Party of *Indians* which the Day before had burned some Part of *Chelmsford*.³¹¹ Soon after this Village was deserted and destroyed by the Enemy: yet was it a special Providence, that though the Carts were gaurded with so slender a Convoy, yet there was not any considerable Loss sustained.

The Surprizal of *Groton* was after this Manner.

On *March* 2, the *Indians* came in the Night and rifled eight or nine Houses, and carried away some Cattel, and alarmed the Town.

On *March* 9, about ten in the Morning, a

³¹¹ In a Letter dated at Chelmsford, 12 Feb., 1676, and signed by Samuel Adams, Samuel and William Fletcher, sent to the Governor and Council at Boston, is the following: "This Morning about an Hower and Half after Sun-rising, Joseph Parker of this Place, with his Son, coming for [from] the Hon'd Major Willard, about fower Mile from o[u]r Meeting House, along by some Houses pertaining to this Towne, now against one House standing nigh the Way, [were] way-layed, and had ye Indian Bullets thick (as

they report) about them. . . . They rod fast to escape them. The young Man was wounded in the Shoulder by a Musket Bullet, as cut out on the other Side of his Arme, and we conceive by Pistol Bullets. His Clothes torn in several Places."—*Collections N. H. Historical Society*, iii, 98. "Tradition," says Allen, *History of Chelmsford*, 9, "makes Joseph Parker, born 20 Mar., 1653, the first white Child born in that Town. He was Son of Joseph and Margaret Parker.

Parcel of *Indians* (having two Days lurked in the Town, and taken Possession of three out Houses, and feasted themselves with Corn, divers Swine and Poultry which they there seized) laid an Ambush for two Carts, which went from the Garison to fetch in some Hay, attended with four Men, two of which espying the Enemy, made a difficult Escape: the other two were set upon, and one of them slain, strip'd naked, his Body mangled, and dragged into the High-way, and laid on his Back in a most shameful Manner:³¹² the other taken Captive, and after sentenced to Death, but the Enemy not concurring in the Manner of it, Execution was deferred, and he by the Providence of God escaped by a bold Attempt the Night before he was designed to Slaughter, and fled to the Garison of *Lancaster*. The Cattel in both Towns wounded, and five of them slain outright.

March 13, was the Day when the Enemy came in a full Body, by their own Account four hundred, and thought by the Inhabitants to be not many fewer. The Town was at that Time (having been put into a Fright by the sad Catastrophe of *Lancaster* the next bordering Town) gathered into five Garisons, four of which were so near together, as to be able to command from one to the other, between which the Cattel belonging to those Families driven into Pastures,

³¹² It is exceedingly annoying to meet constantly with Facts half told; as in this Case, that "two Men were killed" somewhere; leaving us no

Means of ascertaining the only thing we particularly care to know, Names of the Slain.

which afterwards proved their Preservation; the other was near a Mile Distant from the rest.[74]

This Morning the *Indians* (having in the Night placed themselves in several Parts of the Town) made their Onset, which began near the four Garisons: for a Body of them having placed themselves in Ambuscado behind a Hill, near one of the Garisons, two of them made Discovery of themselves, as if they had stood upon Discovery. At this Time divers of the People, nothing suspecting any such Matter (for the Day before, many had been upon Discovery many Miles, and found no Signs of an Enemy being so near) were attending their Occasions: some foddering their Cattel, some milking their Cows, of whom the Enemy might easily have made a seizure, but God prevented; they having another Design in hand, as soon after appeared: These two *Indians* were at length espied, and the Alarm given; whereupon the most of the Men in the next Garison, and some also of the second (which was about eight or nine Pole distant) drew out and went to surprize these two *Indians*, who kept their Station till our Men reached the Brow of the Hill, then arose the Ambush and discharged a Volley upon them, which caused a disorderly Retreat, or rather a Rout, in which one was slain, and three others wounded: mean while another Ambush had risen, and come upon the backside of the Garison so deserted of Men, and pulled down the Pallisades: The Soldiery in this Rout, retreated not to their own, but passed by to the next Garison, the

Women and Children meanwhile exposed to Hazard; but by the Goodness of God made a safe Escape to the other fortified House without any Harm, leaving their Substance to the Enemy, who made a Prey of it, and spent the Residue of the Day in removing the Corn and Household-stuff (in which Loss five Families were impoverished) and firing upon the other Garrison: here also they took some Cattel. No sooner was the Signal given by the first Volley of Shot, but immediately in several Parts of the Town at once did the Smoak arise, they firing the Houses.

In the Afternoon they used a Stratagem not unlike the other, to have surprized the single Garrison, but God prevented. An old *Indian*, passed along the Street with a black Sheep on his Back, with a slow Pace, as one decrepit: They made several Shot at him, but missed him, at which several issued out to have taken him alive; but the Watchman seasonably espying an Ambush behind the House, gave the Signal, whereby they were prevented.

The Night following the Enemy lodged in the Town, some of them in the Garrison they had surprized, but the Body of them in an adjacent Valley, where they made themselves merry after their salvage Manner. The next Morning they gave two or three Volleys at Capt. *Parkers* [75] Garrison, and so marched off, fearing as was thought that Supply might be nigh at hand. This Assault of theirs was managed with their wonted Subtilty and barbarous Cruelty; for they strip'd the Body of him whom they had slain in

the first Onset, and then cutting off his Head, fixed it upon a Pole looking towards his own Land. The Corpse of the Man slain the Week before, they dug up out of his Grave, they cut off his Head and one Leg, and set them upon Poles, and strip'd off his Winding-sheet. An Infant which they found dead in the House first surprized, they cut in Pieces, which afterward they cast to the Swine. There were about forty dwelling Houses burnt at that Time, besides other Buildings. This Desolation was followed with the breaking up of the Town, and scattering of the Inhabitants, and removal of the Candlestick, after it had been there seated above twelve Years.³¹³

Concerning the surprizing of *Groton March* 13, There was not anything much more material than what is already mentioned, save only the Insolency of *John Monoco*, or *one eyed John*, the chief Captain of the Indians in that Design; who having by a sudden Surprizal early in the Morning seized upon a Garison-house, in one end of the Town, continued in it, plundering what was there ready at hand, all that Day; and at Night did very familiarly in Appearance, call to Captain Parker that was lodged in another Garison-house, and entertained a great deal of Discourse with him; whom he called *his old Neighbour*: dilating upon the Cause of the War, and putting an End to it by a friendly

³¹³ After they had burnt the Meetinghouse they went within hearing of the Rev. Mr. Willard, the Minister, who resided near by, and scoffing, inquired of him: "What will you do for a House to pray in now we have burnt your Meeting-house?"

Peace: yet often mixing bitter Sarcasms, with several blasphemous Scoffs and Taunts at their praying and worshipping God in the Meeting-house, which he deridingly said he had burned. Among other Things which he boastingly uttered that Night, he said he burned *Medfield*³¹⁴ (though it be not known whether he was there personally or no), *Lancaster*, and that now he would burn that Town of *Groton*, and the next time he would burn *Chelmsford*, *Concord*, *Watertown*, *Cambridge*, *Charlestown*, *Roxbury*, *Boston*: adding at last in their Dialect, *What Me will, Me do*; not much unlike the proud *Affyrian* (if his Power had been equal to his Pride) sometimes threatned against *Jerusalem*, but was by the remarkable Providence of God, so confounded within a few Months after, that he was bereft of his four hundred and four score (of which he now boasted) and only with a few more Bragadozio's like himself, *Sagamore Sam*, *old Jethro*, and the Sagamore of *Quobaog*, were taken by the English, and was seen (not long before the writing of this) marching towards the Gallows (through *Boston* Streets, which he threatned to burn at his Pleasure) with an Halter about his Neck, with which he was hang-[76]ed at the Towns End³¹⁵ *September 26*, in this present Year

³¹⁴ It is a Tradition that Philip commanded the Indians at the Destruction of *Medfield*, in Person, mounted upon a black Horse. He may have been there and thus conspicuous, but I am of the Opinion that there is no other Authority for the Statement than mere Conjecture.

There is but slight Evidence of his Presence at any of the Fights during the War.

³¹⁵ The *Town's End* was not beyond the present *Boylston Street*. Executions were usually performed in those Days on one of the Knolls in the Common.

1676; *So let thine Enemies perish, O Lord, and such Contempt be poured on all them that open their Mouths to blaspheme thy Holy Name.*

Things looked with a pretty sad Face about those Parts at this Time; yet, *though the Righteous fall seven Times, let not their Enemies rejoice; for the Righteous shall rise again, but their wicked Enemies shall fall into Mischief, and rise no more.* It was Ebbing-water with *New-England* at this Time, and awhile after; but God shall turn the Stream before it be long, and bring down their Enemies to lick the Dust before them.

After this, *April 17*, Captain *Sill*, being appointed to keep *Garison* at *Groton*, some *Indians* coming to hunt for Swine, three *Indians* drew near the *Garison-house*, supposing it to have been deserted, two of them were slain by one single Shot made by the Captains own Hands, and the third by another Shot made from the *Garison*.

The Danger which these inland Towns were like to be exposed unto from the Enemy, after they were driven out of the *Narhaganset Country*, was foreseen by the Council of the *Massachusetts*, yea, they had some intimation thereof from the Enemy themselves: but they were not well able to prevent it, in that unseasonable Time of the Year, no way fit for the marching of Soldiers, and transporting of Provisions (the Winter then beginning to break up in this Country); for while our Forces were up in the *Narhaganset Country* in the Winter, a couple of Christian *Indians* were

sent as Spies into the *Nipnet* and *Narbaganset* Countrey, through the Woods in the Depth of Winter, when the Ways were impassable for any other Sort of People: these two, by name *James* and *Job*,³¹⁶ ordered their Business so prudently, as that they were admitted into those *Indian* Habitations as Friends, and had free Liberty of Discourse with them; they were at the first a little jealous of them, but by the Means of *One eyed John*³¹⁷ (a great Captain of the *Indians*, that afterward led them that spoiled *Groton*, who having been a Companion of one of the said Spies both in Hunting, and Fighting against the *Mohawks* for-

³¹⁶ *James Quannopobit* and *Job Katenanit*, Natick Indians. They were employed to go among the hostile Indians as Spies, soon after the Narraganset Fight. They, with other Praying Indians had been placed on Deer Island in Boston Harbor. On the 28th of December, Major Gookin, at the Request of the Government, went down to the Island, selected these two Men and proposed to them to undertake the Service. They readily assented, though the Inducement offered was but five Pounds apiece! The Night of the same Day he took them to his House in Cambridge, privately, and there fitted them for their perilous undertaking; then, on the 30th of December, before Day, an Englishman conducted them as far as "the Falls of Charles River, and so they passed on their Journey undiscovered. These two Spies acquitted themselves prudently and faithfully, brought

Intelligence which might have conduced much to the Advantage of the English, had their Advice been wisely improved."—*History of the Praying Indians*.

³¹⁷ His Indian Name was *Monoco*. When Quannapohit was among the Nipnets, Mautamp insisted that he should accompany him to King Philip, who was "not far from Fort Albany." But he knew this would not do, because Philip had given Orders that if he were at any time taken, he should be brought to him, that he might put him to a cruel Death with his own Hands. He was now under the Protection of Monoco, the Sachem of Nashua, "who had civilly treated, entertained and protected him at his own Wigwam, all the Time of his being there, because he had been a Fellow-Soldier with him in the Mohawk War."—*Gookin*.

merly; so esteemed of him, that he would not suffer any of the rest to touch him); they passed through all the *Indian* Towns lying thirty Miles distant from *Quobaog*, and twenty Miles northward of the Road to *Connecticut*: one of the said Spies returned about Jan. 24,³¹⁸ informing those that sent him, what he observed, both the Number of the *Indians* (about three hundred in all), also their several Towns, and what Provision they had: plenty of Venison, much Pork from the English mens Hogs which they had taken: they confessed likewise, that he and some of his Party had killed the People of *Nashaway* the last Year, suspected to [77] have been done by the *Indians* of *Marlborough*: he told them also they intended to burn *Lancaster* within three Weeks after that Time, which accordingly they did much about the same time: adding moreover, that some *Frenchmen* were with them at *Pocomtuck*, encouraging of them to go on with their Designs, promising them Assistance, which made some ready to think the *Indians* were stirred up by the *French* to do all this Mischief, but more of that

³¹⁸ James Quannapohit, just mentioned. The other Spy, Job Katanit returned on the 9th of February following, reaching Major Gookin's House in Cambridge, "about 10 o'Clock in the Night, conducted by one Joseph Miller, that lived near the Falls of Charles River. He brought Tidings, that before he came from the Enemy at

Menemessé, a Party of the Indians, about 400, were marched forth to attack and burn Lancaster;" that they were to attempt it "on the morrow, which was February 10th." This Information corresponded exactly with that given by Quannapohit, and Lancaster was destroyed accordingly. *Gookin*. See also Willard, in *Worcester Magazine*.

afterwards : what might be gathered from the forefaid Premifes is eafie to conceive ; whereupon new Forces with as much fpeed as the Seafon would allow, were raifed and fent up into thofe Parts, under the Command of Major Savage in chief : they were defpatched away in the Beginning of *March*, and appointed to meet with fuch as fhould be fent from *Connecticut Colony*, which they did about *Quabaog*, and fo intended to march directly up to thofe *Indian Towns* about *Watchufet Hill* to the Northwest : but the *Indians* were gone, and our Forces in the Purfuit of them, taking the wrong Path, miffed of them ; yet ranging through thofe Woods, they were at one Time fuddenly affaulted by a fmall Party of *Indians* firing upon them, wounding Mr. *Gerfhom Bulkly*,³¹⁹ by a Shot in his Thigh, and killing one of their Soldiers, after which as they marched along, they accidentally fell upon another fmall Party of the Enemy, of whom they flew fome, and took others to the Number of fixteen, yet could not meet with the main Body of the Enemy who it feems had paffed over a great River by Rafts,³²⁰

³¹⁹ This is an anticipation of Events. It appears that the Affair in which Mr. *Bulkley* was wounded was after the 27th of March. See *Colonial Records of Connecticut*, ii, 423-4. Mr Bulkley was Minifter of Weathersfield, and his Wife was a Daughter of Prefident Chauncey. He was with the Connecticut Troops as Chaplain, having taken the Place of his Brother-in-law, Mr. *Israel*

Chauncey of Stratford, who from Sickness in his Family was prevented from going.

³²⁰ Suppofed to be what was then known as Payquage or Baquage, fince Miller's River, which at this Seafon of the Year (March), was ufually very high. See *Worcefter Magazine*, i, 117. See alfo Mrs. Rowlandfon's *Narrative* (in *Indian Captivities*), 76.

fo our Men could follow them no further ; wherefore turning down towards *Hadly* and *Northampton*, whither it was fupposed the *Indians* intended to pafs, they came very feafonably to the Relief of the faid Towns, which elfe had been in Danger of being loft. For,

March 14, the Enemy fell upon *Northampton* and in three Places broke through the Fortification of Palifadoes, fet up round about the Town a little before, for their better Security ; but the Town being at that Time full of Soldiers, they were quickly repulfed, after they had killed four Men and two Women, and fired four or five Dwelling-houfes, and as many Barns, with the Lofs of many of their Lives, as was fupposed.³²¹

While our Forces under Major *Savage* continued on that Side of the Country, a fad Accident fell out at *Springfield*, the certainty of which it is judged meet here to relate, to prevent Miftakes : the Matter having through a great Oversight been otherwife represented, than indeed it was, not only to the Prejudice of Truth, but to the Difadvantage of fome Perfons concerned therein. While the Soldiers were quartered amongft the feveral Towns upon *Connecticut River* ; a Party of the Troop [78] were quartered at a

³²¹ Thofe flain belonging to Northampton were Robert Bartlett, Thomas Holton, Mary Earle, Increase Whelftone, and James Mackrannels. *Records of Northampton, in N. E. Hift. and Gen. Register*, iii, 176. Our Author fails to mention the

Services rendered by Capt. William Turner and his Company in faving Northampton. They are noticed in the *Chronicle*, 118. See alfo Backus, *History of New England*, i, 423. *History and Antiquities of Boston*, 419.

Place belonging to *Springfield* called the *Long-Meadow*, three Miles from the Town below toward *Windfor*: several of the Inhabitants having most of the Winter kept from the publick Meeting on the Lords Days, for Fear of the Enemy, were encouraged to adventure to the Assembly on the 26th of *March*, riding in the Company of the Troopers; but having heard of no *Indians* thereabouts for a good while, were more secure than they had Cause; for riding some of them with Women behind them, and some with their Children in their Arms, yet not so careful as to keep in the Middle, but rather in the Rear, and at a pretty Distance stragling from the Rest of the Company, a Party of *Indians* lying in the Bushes as they rode along, fired upon the hindmost, and killed two and wounded others: those in the Front having also Women and Maids behind some of them, were at a stand to know what to do, fearing they might expose those Women they had in their Company, if they should ride back (in that winding Road made through a woody Place for a Mile or two together) to look after them that were behind; at the last, one that came riding up, told the foremost Company there was no Hurt, and that they were all coming: they that were before, rode away with all Speed to the End of the Town, where setting down the Women, the Troopers returned back, but too late to recover two poor Women and two Children, who upon the first Assault were thrown

off their Horses, and immediately haled into the Bushes, and through a Swamp on the other Side of a steep Bank, so as they could not be heard of all that Afternoon, nor the next Day, till toward Night; although they were diligently searched after by all the Troopers in and about the Town; At last when they were descryed just by a Swamp side, the cruel Wretches endeavoured to have killed them all, but in Haste only wounded them with their Hatchets, yet so as one of the poor Creatures recovered; the other with the Children dyed of their Wounds before they were brought Home, or within a little Time after.³²² They did not complain of any Incivility toward them while they were in their Power; but by the Farewell given of them at parting, they found it true by their own Experience, that *the tender Mercies of the Wicked are Cruelty.*

There hapned no other Matter of moment worthy the reporting, while our Forces tarried in those Parts; and the Commanders observing that the Enemy was turned back again through the Woods, towards the *Massachusetts Bay*, after a Months time, retired back, yet could never meet with the Enemy in their Return through the Woods, although while they were at the Towns

³²² It is to this Affair that the Rev. Dr. Sprague adds: "There were six Persons killed near Pecowick Brook in Springfield; three of them as they are passing from Long Meadow to Springfield Town to meeting. The Guard who accom-

panied them are held in Remembrance there by the following Lines: "Seven Indians, and one without a Gun, Caused Capt. Nixon and 40 Men to run." *Historical Discourse*, p. 22. See also I. Mather's *Brief History*, 128-9, 253-4.

aforesaid, they understood of several Attempts made upon *Sudbury, Marlborough*,³²³ the most Part of which last [79] they destroyed *March 26*, which made the Inhabitants forsake their Dwellings, leaving only a few Houses garisoned with Soldiers, the better to secure a Passage to the Towns westward upon *Connecticut River*.

The Inhabitants of *Sudbury*, with the Soldiers under Lieut. *Jacobs*³²⁴ of *Marlborough* sufficiently alarmed by the late Mischief done about those Towns, resolved to try what Work they could make with the Enemy in the Night; whereupon going forth *March 27*, toward Morning, they discerned where the Enemy lay by their Fires, (near three hundred of them) and that within half a mile of a Garison-house, near the Place where they had done so much Mischief the Day before. Such was the Courage and Resolution of the English, though but forty in Number, Townsmen and Soldiers, that they adventured to discharge upon them as they lay by their Fires, when it was so dark that an *Indian* could hardly be discerned from a better Man; yet God so directing, they discharged several Times upon them, wounded thirty, fourteen of whom either

³²³ See *Table, No. 31*. "They burnt the Houses the Inhabitants had deserted, but the Garrisons defended the Rest. In the Town the Houses were built very scatteringly, and the Enemies divided themselves into small Parties, which executed their Design of firing at once, and though

there was a Company of the Country Militia there, they could not prevent it." *Old Indian Chronicle*, 117-18.

³²⁴ The Christian Name of *Jacobs* was *Richard*. After the Death of Capt. Brocklebank he took his Place. See *Gage's Hist. Rowley*.

died of their Wounds the same Day or soon after, which had been chief Agents in this present Mischiefe against the English. Such was the Success of this Skirmish, that the Assailants came off without the Loss of one Man.

After this Time the Enemy began to scatter about in small Parties, doing what Mischiefe they could about the *Massachusetts*, killing a Man at *Weymouth*,³²⁵ another at *Hingham*,³²⁶ as they lay skulking up and down in Swamps and Holes, to assault any that occasionally looked never so little into the Woods; sometimes alarming the Towns about *Boston* by discharging Guns upon particular Persons; at *Billerica*, *Braintree*, and at *Rentham*,³²⁷ near about which Place in the Road to *Rehoboth*, they assaulted one *Woodcoks* House, killed one Man, and one of his Sons, wounded another, and burned his Sons House.³²⁸

Notwithstanding the little Success of former Attempts, *Philip* and his Men have one Prize

³²⁵ On the 19th of April (1676) "Sergeant Pratt of Weymouth, is slain by the Indians." *Weymouth Records* in *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register*, ii, 254.

³²⁶ "April 20. Joseph Joanes and Anthony Sprague's Houses burnt; also Israel Hobart's, Nathaniel Chubbuck's and James Whiton's Houses burnt to the Ground by the Indians." *New England Hist. and Gen. Register*, ii, 254.

³²⁷ "The Inhabitants of Wrentham, abandoned the Place on the 30th of March, 1676. No Lives

were lost. The Enemy came upon the Town after they were gone, and burnt all the Dwellings except two. What saved these from the Fire was their being infected with the Small Pox, of which the Indians by some Means or other had gotten Information." Bean's *Century Sermon*, p. 14.

³²⁸ Whatever could be recovered, after the most unwearied pains, respecting the Woodcocks, will be found preserved in Mr. Daggett's *History of Attleborough*, 47. See also, Bliss, *Rehoboth*, 77, 102.

more to play in the *Massachusetts Colony*, before they go off the Stage, and then we shall soon see their Power visibly declining everywhere, until their final Overthrow come upon them. There were several small Parties of them scattered up and down all over the Country, yet the main Body of them was still lurking up and down in those Woods that lye between *Brookfield*, *Marlborough* and *Connecticut River*. Possibly they had some Hope of driving all the Country before them to the Towns upon the Sea-coast; for having burned the deserted Houses at *Marlborough*. April 17, the next Day³²⁹ they set upon *Sudbury* with all their might, (hoping 'tis like) to do there, as they had done at the Towns next beyond it: They did at the first prevail so far as to consume several Houses, and Barns, and kill several Persons, ten or twelve of [80] the English, that came from *Concord* to assist their Neighbours at *Sudbury*, a Town distant five Miles from them, at the first hearing of the Alarm, who unawares were surpris'd near a Garison House, in Hope of getting some Advantage upon a small Party of the Enemy that presented themselves in a Meadow; a great Number of *Indians* that lay unseen in the Bushes, suddenly rose up, and intercepting the Passage to the Garison-house, killed and took them all.

³²⁹ This is an Error. The disastrous Fight at Sudbury was on the 21st of April. I have explained the Manner in which a wrong Date has been assigned on the Sudbury Monument and elsewhere, in the *N. E. Historical and Genealogical Register*, vii, 221-4.

But our Sorrows and Losses that Day are not yet come to their Height; for in the after Part of the same Day, that resolute stout-hearted Soldier, Capt. *Wadsworth* (who had not long before, with not above forty Men, rescued *Lancaster*, when it was in Danger to have been all lost at once) being sent from *Boston* with fifty Soldiers, to relieve *Marlborough*, having marched five and twenty Miles, and then understanding the Enemy was gone through the Woods toward *Sudbury*; this unwearied Company, before ever they had taken any considerable Rest, marched immediately back toward *Sudbury* (that lies ten Miles nearer *Boston*) and being come within a Mile of the Town, they espied a Party of *Indians* not far from them, about an hundred, not more, as they conceived. These they might easily deal with, who retiring back a while, drew Capt. *Wadsworth* and his Company above a Mile into the Woods. When on the sudden a great Body of the Enemy appeared, about five hundred as was thought, who compassing them in round, forced them to the top of an Hill, where they made very stout Resistance a considerable while; but the Night drawing on, and some of the Company beginning to scatter from the rest, their Fellows were forced to follow them, so as the Enemy taking the Chase, pursued them on every Side, as they made too hasty a Retreat, by which Accident, being so much overpowered by the Enemies numbers, they were most of them lost: the Captain himself,

with one Captain *Brocklebank* (a choice spirited Man, much lamented by the Town of *Rowly* to which he belonged) and some others that fell into his Company as he marched along, scarce twenty escaping in all; so as another Captain and his fifty perished at that Time, of as brave Soldiers as any were ever imployed in the present Service.³³⁰

Thus as in former Attempts of like Nature,³³¹ too much Courage and Eagerness in Pursuit of the Enemy, hath added another fatal Blow to this poor Country.

The same Day another Party of the English coming from *Brookefield*, whither they were sent as a Convoy with Provision for the Garrison, were in Danger likewise of falling into the Hands of the same *Indians*; yet riding upon a good Speed, and keeping their Guns always ready pre- [81] sented against them they met, they never durst fire at them: only three or four, having unadvisedly first discharged their Guns against the Enemy, and falling too much in the Reer of their Company, were cut off and lost.³³² It is

³³⁰ See *Table*, No. 32. The most circumstantial Accounts of the sad Disaster at Sudbury are found in the *Old Indian Chronicle*, 93. *Book of the Indians*, 222, 698, Gookin's *Hist. Praying Indians*, and Dr. I. Mather's *Brief Hist. Philip's War*, 136. All these concur in the Date of the Battle, viz., April 21st.

³³¹ The Author has probably special Reference to the Disasters of Lathrop and Pierce.

³³² Gen. Gookin says Wadsworth's Men "were generally cut off, except a few that escaped to a Mill which was fortified, but the People were fled out of it, but the Enemy knew not of their flight; and so, supposing the Mill to be strong they ventured not to attack it. At the same Time Capt. Cutler of Charlestown with a small Company having the Convoy of some Carts from Marlborough that were

reported by some that afterwards escaped, how they cruelly tortured five or six of the English that Night: yet whatever their Success was this Day, it was observed by some (at that Time their Prisoners, and since released)³³³ that they seemed very penfive after they came to their Quarters, shewing no such Signs of rejoycing, as they were usually wont to do in like Case;³³⁴ whether for the Loss of some of their own Company in that Days Enterprise (said to be an hundred and twenty) or whether it were the Devil in whom they trusted that deceived them, and to whom they made their Address the Day before, by sundry Conjurations of their *Powawes*;³³⁵ or whether it were by any Dread that the Almighty sent upon their execrable Blasphemies, which 'tis said they used in the torturing of some of their poor Captives (bidding *Jesus* come and deliver them out of their Hands from Death if he could) we leave as uncertain, though some

coming to Sudbury, having secured his carriage at a Garrison House, escaped narrowly from being cut off by the Enemy. The Enemy also at the same Time cut off some English Soldiers that were coming down under the Conduct of one Cowell, of Boston, that had been a Convoy to some Provisions at Quabage Fort." See further of Cowell in *Book of the Indians*, 698.

³³³ Mrs. Rowlandson, no doubt, for she was then a Prisoner in their Hands. She says, "When they went [to attack Sudbury] they

acted as if the Devil had told them that they should gain a Victory;" and when "they returned they acted as if the Devil had told them they should have a Fall." *Narrative of Removes*, 69. Ed., 1828.

³³⁴ "Yet they came Home without rejoicing and triumphing over their Victory which they were wont to show at other Times; but rather like Dogs, as they say, which have lost their Ears." *Ibid.*, 68.

³³⁵ "There is an interesting Description of *Powwow* in Mrs. Rowlandson's Book, page 67.

have so reported: yet sure it is, that after this Day they never prospered in any Attempt they made against the English, but were continually scattered and broken till they were in a Manner all consumed. After this Time, however they had braved it before, they seemed to apprehend that it was scarce feasible for them to withstand the Power of the English, and therefore seemed more inclinable to a Peace, by several Overtures made by them, if they knew how to have brought it about.³³⁶ For during these Encounters they were willing to admit of some Kind of Treaty with the English, about the releasing of Sundry of their Captives, which they took at *Lancaster* in *February* last, and elsewhere: To that End, sundry Attempts were made by Help of several of the *Praying Indians* (as they use to be called) about the Redemption of some of the Women and Children, which were at that Time in their Possession, and by Degrees Something was effected that Way; possibly their own present Sufferings and Wants that were upon them, might induce them thereunto: For by this Time the Spring of the Year came on, their Provision was all spent, and they forced to live wholly upon Ground-nuts, and upon the Flesh of the English Creatures, both Horse and Neat-cattel, which they daily plundered. The Ground-nuts running up to Seed in the Summer, began to grow

³³⁶ Sundry of their Letters to the Governor and others upon the Subject of Peace are preserved in the *Old Indian Chronicles*, and others in the *Book of the Indians*. See also *Colony Records, Mass.*, v. 93.

so sticky, as they were scarce Eatable; the Flesh of the English Cattel proving Unwholsom for their Bodies, filling them with sundry Diseases. One of them having eaten much Horse-flesh, complained that he had before eaten Horse and now Horse began to eat him, meaning some deadly Disease growing upon his [82] eating such rank Flesh unwholsom for their Bodies, especially without Salt, as their usual Manner is. The Fishing-season also began now to come in, wherein they use to take Abundance of all Sorts, with which those great Rivers up the Country are abundantly stored: they use to take thereof, and drying in the Smoak, make Provision thereof for the greatest Part of the Year; and if the War continued they could not but see they should utterly be cut off therefrom; and that if the planting Season also were lost, they should be in great Want of Summer-fruits, *ſc.* Beans and Squashes (besides their Corn) with which they were wont to live all the latter Part of the Summer. Upon all Considerations they seemed pretty Inclined to hearken to a Peace, though some were apt to think they would never have kept it further than would stand with their own Advantage, and that their present Desire thereof was only to gain Time.³³⁷

³³⁷ The Author passes very lightly over the singular Negotiations which resulted in the Redemption of Mrs. Rowlandson and others. He probably omitted the Details for the Reason that he did

not wish to interfere with Mrs. Rowlandson's Publication. Another Reason may have been that he could not give a full Account of the various Transactions without exposing the nefarious conduct of

A Person formerly acquainted with the *Indians* about *Lancaster* did adventure upon the forementioned Overtures, to go amongst them to try if he could prevail with them for the Redemption of the Minister's Wife, taken captive in *February* last from *Lancaster*; ³³⁸ and through the Favour of him who having the Hearts of all in his Hand, inclines them as he pleases, obtained the desired End upon an inconsiderable Sum, which gave Encouragement to the Council to send two Messengers on the like Errand the same Week to procure the Redemption of others, not without Success. ³³⁹ The former, *viz.* Mrs. *Rowlandson* being brought to *Boston* upon the Election Day, *May* 3d, it was looked at as a Smile of Providence, and doubtless was a Return of Prayer, and Answer of Faith, with which her Husband had been upheld and supported from the Day of her Captivity; his two Children also were returned back not long after, more by the over-ruling Hand of

Captain Samuel Mosely. For that the Reader must consult General Gookin's History. Mosely was so connected with the first People of the Colony that his Exposure and just Censure could not be published without offending them, and perhaps incurring the Penalty of having his Book burnt by the common Hangman. Matters are not very dissimilar in our own Times; for we see the Thief who steals the public Property tolerated by some, because he has stopped their Mouths with a Portion of the Plunder! Not

that Mosely was a Thief, but he wanted Humanity.

³³⁸ See Gookin's History *Praying Indians*, MS. copy.

³³⁹ "May the 12th, Good-wife Diuens and Goodwife Keble, upon Ransom paid came in to Concord; and upon like Ransom presently after, John Moss, of Groton and Lieutenant Carter's Daughter of Lancaster, were set at Liberty, and nine more without Ransom." Cobbet's *Narrative* in *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vii, 217.

God (*that turns the Captivity of his People as the Streams of the South*; and sometimes inclining them to pity his Servants, that are of themselves more cruel than the Sea-monsters) than by any other Contrivance of Man's Policy.³⁴⁰

And yet notwithstanding Motions of this Nature about the Redemption of some of our Prisoners still in their Hands, there was no Cessation of Arms between us.

About this Time Letters were sent down from *Connecticut Colony*, informing the General Court then assembled at *Boston*, that some of the *Mow-hawkes* (a Sort of fierce and salvage *Indians* yet mortal Enemies to these we were at Wars withal) had fallen upon some of *Philip's* Party, and destroyed many of them :³⁴¹ likewise that many

³⁴⁰ Mrs. Rowlandson gives this Account of the Arrival of an Ambassador among the Indians for the Purpose of redeeming her and other Prisoners : " On a Sabbath Day, the Sun being about an Hour high in the Afternoon, came Mr. John Hoar (the Council permitting him, and his own forward Spirit inclining him) together with the two fore-mentioned [Praying Indians] Tom and Peter, with the third Letter from the Council. When they came near, I was abroad. They presently called me in, and bid me sit down and not stir. Then they caught up their Guns and away they ran, as if an Enemy had been at Hand, and the Guns went off apace. I manifested some great

Trouble, and asked them what was the Matter? I told them I thought they had killed the Englishman. (For they had in the Mean-Time told me that an Englishman was come.) They said, No, they shot over his Horse, and under, and before his Horse; and they pushed him this Way and that Way, at their Pleasure, shewing him what they could do. Then they let him come to their Wigwams. I begged of them to let me see the Englishman, but they would not. But there was I fain to fit their Pleasure. When they had talked their Fill with him, they suffered me to go to him." *Narrative*, page 71-2.

³⁴¹ This Matter of an Attack upon Philip and his Company by

of them were destroyed by Fevers and Fluxes, with other Distempers falling amongst them, [83] which was some reviving to our Hopes, that the

the Mohawks is vaguely mentioned in all the Histories of the War. The following Letter of Gov. Andros sets the Affair in a clear Light. There had been an epistolary Correspondence between him and the Government of Connecticut from the early Part of the War; carried on, not very complimentary on the Part of the Governor generally, it must be confessed. In one Instance, in Reply to Connecticut's Request that he would employ the Mohawks against our Enemies, he discovers no little Indignation, yet he still continued his good Offices, and on the 5th of July of this year (1676) he wrote from Albany:

"Gentlemen: Our Indians, the Maquas, &c., as far as Sineques [Senecas] have done very great execution on your Indian Enemys, of which I doubt not you receive the Fruits, and are very sensible of itt. This is by Lift. Gerett Tunesen, and Cornelisen Steuenfen, sent Expresse, on Occasion of a Party of neare 300 Maquas, &c., now going out, who complain that severall other Partys have lately found none of said Enemys, and thinck you have made Peace and shelter them. I therefore desire that you'll without Delay lett me know if itt be so, in the Whole or in Part, and what else of said Enemys, where they are. And again. Whether you'll admitt our Indians, Maquas, &c., to come into your Townes, and by what signe; that I may take such

Order as may preuent any Inconuenience which might happen by there intruding to far, and proue too badd a Consequence, they being so strong and so farr off. Cospechy and 15 more, and some Women and Children have delivered themselves vp to me, whom I have sufficiently secured. I pray your speedy Answer, and that you'll send a fitt Person of your own, by whom I may be the better informed to doe what is further fitt for me to do."

E. Andros.

In Reply, dated Hartford, July 8th, 1676, the Council of Connecticut informed Gov. Andros that he might be fully assured, that, as to a Peace, there "is nothing at Present amongst us looking that Way;" that on the Contrary they were busily engaged in sending out Expeditions against the Indians.

For these valuable Facts I am indebted to the judicious editorship of the *Col. Rec. of Connecticut*; to consult which is always a Pleasure and Satisfaction; while little besides Vexation will ever be experienced in recurring to those of our own clumsy Volumes. The Value of these, it is safely asserted, is to those in the inverse Ratio of the Cost of the one to the Cost of the other. Ours are a Monument to Profligacy and Incapacity, while those of other States are Monuments to Patriotism and Industry. Worst of all, ours are claimed to be edited! *Inftar omnium.*

Foot of our Enemy should slide in due Time, and that Destruction was hastning upon them, though still they were permitted to do Mischief in sundry particular Places of the Country, which must be minded as we pass along.

Those *Indians* that were our professed Enemies, after they had been beaten out of the *Narhagan-set Country*, *Febr.* 1, tarried awhile at *Winimazeag*,³⁴² a Place two Days Journey North of *Quabaog*, when they divided themselves into two Companies: One of them tarried on that Side the Country, the other made towards *Plimouth Colony*, taking *Medfield* in their Way, from whence as they marched along, they met with a notable Repulse at *Bogiston*,³⁴³ a small Hamlet, or Company, or Farms not far from the said *Medfield*, where they attempted a Garison, but meeting with stout Resistance, they left the Enterprize, and kept on their Way toward *Plimouth Colony*, where they scattered themselves up and down, waiting for Opportunities to spoil and destroy the English Plantations on that Side of the Country.³⁴⁴

³⁴² I cannot positively determine the Locality of this Place. There are certain Ponds within the borders of New Hampshire, nearly north of *Quabaog*, one of which, a hundred Years ago was called *Wonomenok*. This may not stand for the same Place as *Winimazeag*, yet we often meet with the same Name differing as widely in Orthography. *Wonomenok* Pond is in the Town

of Jaffrey, N. H., though it has probably not been known by that Name for a long Time. See *Brit. Government Map of New-England. London, 1774.*

³⁴³ That Part of *Medfield* since *Sherburne*. The Name is now written *Boggestow*.

³⁴⁴ This Attempt to surprise *Medfield* has been fully noticed, *ante*. See pages 62-3.

Besides what is already mentioned, on *May 11*, a Party of them assaulted the Town of *Plimouth*, burnt eleven Houses and five Barns belonging thereunto: on the other Side, a small Party of the English scouting about in Pursuit of the *Indians*, fell upon a Party of them that lay waiting in Ambush; but being discerned by an *Indian* in the Company of our Men that gave timely Notice, our Soldiers had an Opportunity thereby to make the first Shot, and thereby not only prevented a Mischief to themselves, but killed also some of the Enemy (one of whom was observed to be of more Note than his Fellows by his Attire) the Rest fled away from them that pursued, though but a small Company; so that there were daily reciprocal Acts of Hostility in those Parts.³⁴⁵

Within a few Days after this, seven Houses and two Barns more were burnt by the Enemy in and about *Plimouth*: who did the like Mischief about the same Time to the remaining Houses of *Namasket* or *Middleborough*.

About this Time, another Sort of *Indians* that belonged to *Wamesit*, a Place near *Chelmsford*, bordering upon *Merrimack* (who had been provoked by the rash, unadvised, cruel Act of some of the English, about *Oct. 27*, and *November 4*, had fired upon them several Guns, both at *Chelmsford* and

³⁴⁵ Dr. Mather also relates this Exploit, but leaves us as much in the Dark as to those concerned in it and where it was done as our

Author. See *Brief History*, 145-6; Davis, *Appendix to Morton*, 449; Baylies, *New Plymouth*, iii, 153; and Mitchell, *Bridgewater*, 40.

Woburn, to the killing of some, and wounding of others, upon Suspicion that the said *Indians* were guilty of burning a Barn, and Haystack not far off)³⁴⁶ suddenly turned our Enemies, after the Winter was over; having first withdrawn themselves from the Place assigned them, and where they had been relieved all the Winter (some of them [84] after a former Revolt) and took their Opportunity to fire Mr. *Falconer's* House in *Andover* Town early that Spring and wounded one *Roger Marks*,³⁴⁷ and killed his Horse. Two more Houses about *Shawshen*³⁴⁸ beyond the said *Andover*, were burned about *March* 10. Also they killed a young Man of the said Town, *April* 8, the Son of *George Abbot*; And another Son of his also was carried away the same Day, who yet was returned some few Months after, almost pined to Death with Hunger.

At the same Time they killed some of their Cattel, cutting out only the Tongues of some for

³⁴⁶ This fiendish Act of a few white Barbarians could not be overlooked by the Author. To have been more and justly circumstantial might have subjected him to, at least, Unpopularity. Dr. Mather notices it quite as Denunciatory. But Gen. Gookin gives the Particulars, in his *History of the Praying Indians*.

³⁴⁷ There was a Roger Marks in the Narraganset Fort Fight. This is doubtless the same Person. He

was among the wounded in that Battle and was, with others of Capt. Appleton's Men, left at Rhode Island. In the *Records of Andover* is found this Entry: "Sarah, wife of Roger Marks, died of Small-pox, 22 Dec, 1690. See *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, ii, 379.

³⁴⁸ Billerica. See I. Mather, *Brief History*, 130. Mr. Farmer published a *History of Billerica*, but it affords us no Light here.

haste, being shot at by several of the Inhabitants from their Garisons.

Mar. 10, At *Concord*, two Men going for Hay, one of them was killed.³⁴⁹

At *Chelmsford*, the said *Wamefit Indians*, about *March 18*, before, fell upon some Houses on the North side of the River, burnt down three or four that belonged to the Family of *Edward Colburn*: the said Colburn, with *Samuel Varnham* his Neighbour, being pursued, as they passed over the River to look after their Cattel on that Side of the River; and making several Shots against them, who returned the like again upon the said *Indians* (judged to be about forty) what Success they had upon the Enemy, was best known to themselves; but two of *Varnhams* Sons were slain by the Enemies Shot, before they could recover the other Side of the River.³⁵⁰ *April 15*, also were fourteen or fifteen Houses burnt there.

Not long before this, *Feb. 1. 1675. Tho. Eames*, that kept a Farm at *Sudbury*, whose Dwelling was three or four Miles out of the Town, had his House assaulted and fired; his Wife killed, and his Children carried Captive among the *Indians*.³⁵¹

³⁴⁹ Shattuck could not give the Name of the Person killed. He merely copied Hubbard.

³⁵⁰ See *N. H. Historical Collections*, ii, 271. The *Varnum* Family of Dracut have a very distinct Tradition of these Events. The late B. F. Varnum, Esq., with whom I passed an Evening (31 Mar., 1832),

told me he was a descendant of the Samuel Varnham here mentioned. *MS. Journal.*

³⁵¹ I have in the *Book of the Indians*, been able to give from original Materials, many additional Facts. See page 264, 699; also Barry's *Hist. Framingham*, 24-7. Mather is silent as to Eames.

Also two Men were killed at a Farm about *Concord*, *Isaac* and *Jacob Sheppard* by Name, about the middle of *February*; ³⁵² and a young Maid that was set to watch upon an Hill, of about 15 Years of Age, was carried Captive; who strangely escaped away upon an Horse that the *Indians* had taken from *Lancaster* a little before. ³⁵³ In the like strange Manner did one of *Eames* his Children escape away about *May* 3, last, travelling thirty Miles alone in the Woods without any Relief, till he came to an English Town. *Eames* his House was assaulted when himself was from Home, by an *Indian* called *Netus* (not long after slain at *Marlborough*) which had been familiar with the English, with nine or ten more of his Company, as perfidious and barbarous as himself: They burned all the Dwellings that belonged to the Farm, Corn, Hay, and Cattel, besides the Dwelling-house, with what was therein; it is probable those at *Concord* were killed by the same Hands about a Fortnight after.

Many such like remarkable Instances of special Providences might [85] be mentioned, if it were convenient to insert such particular Passages into the general Narrative of the late Troubles from our barbarous Enemies. ³⁵⁴

³⁵² February 12th, according to one of the Tracts.

³⁵³ Mr. Shattuck embellishes this highly romantic Story, by adding, that the Girl rode on a Saddle which she took from under her Keeper's Head as he lay asleep, and that thus

mounted she swam the Nashua River and effected her Escape. Her Name was Mary Shepard, Sister to the young Men slain. *History of Concord*, 55.

³⁵⁴ These Notions so much governed Historians of former Times,

On *May* 3, a Party of them killed a Man at *Haverhill*, upon the Edge of *Merrimack River*; ³⁵⁵ and passing over the said River to *Bradford*, spoiled another Family; killing one *Thomas Kembell*, and carrying his Wife and five Children captive forty Miles up into the Woods; although it was questioned whether this last Mischief were done by any of *Philip's* Party, but rather by some that belonged to the Eastward Indians, of which there may be occasion (God willing) to speak more afterward. ³⁵⁶

For the suppressing of these Insolencies, several Companies of fresh Soldiers, both Horse and Foot, were raised in the *Massachusetts*, by the Governour and Council of that Colony, and sent out to suppress the common Enemy; the Foot under the Command of Capt. *Sill*, Capt. *Cutler*, ³⁵⁷ Capt.

that they have deprived us of those Items of History now especially valued.

³⁵⁵ His Name was *Ephraim Kingsbury*. Myrick, *Hist. Haverhill*, 53, who observes that he was the first Person killed by the Indians in that Town. Mr. J. W. Dean has given a Pedigree of the Kingsbury Family, in the *N. E. H. G. Reg.*, xiii, 157, &c., by which it appears that Ephraim was Son of Henry Kingsbury, the Emigrant.

³⁵⁶ This Depredation is further noticed in the *Second Part*, page 29. See also *Notes* in Mather's *Brief History*, 142.

³⁵⁷ Probably *John* Cutler of Charlestown. I find but one other

mention of him among my Materials, and that is in Gen. Gookin's *History of Praying Indians*, 110-12. (I use a MS. Copy of this Work.) "At the same Time," that Capt. Wadsworth was defeated, "Capt. Cutler of Charlestown with a small Company, having the Convoy of some Carts from Marlborough that were coming to Sudbury, having secured his Carriage at a Garrison House, escaped narrowly from being cut off by the Enemy. The Enemy also at that Time cut off some English Soldiers that were coming down under the Conduct of one Cowell of Boston, that had been a Convoy to some Provisions at Quabage Fort." Cowell's Name

Holbrook; the Horse under the Command of Capt. *Brattle*, Capt. *Prentice*, Capt. *Henchman*, Commanders in Chief: there several Companies modelled as aforesaid, were sent out *April 27*, 1676, to range the Woods towards *Hassanamesit*.

Upon *May 6*, they met with a considerable Party of the Enemy: they were first discovered by the *Natick* Scouts pursuing a Bear; and at the first not discerning that the *Natick Indian* Scouts belonged to our Men, it gave some Advantage to our Forces; our Horsemen falling upon them before they were all aware, killed and took of the Enemy about sixteen, which they took notice of at the present, although it was confessed by the Enemy, that they lost twenty that Encounter. It was reported that the sounding of a Trumpet without Order, did much hurt; but the Commander in Chief affirmeth, that it was no Disadvantage to the Service in Hand, it neither being heard by our own Foot, nor yet by the Enemy. If any Error was committed by the English Companies, it was in that the Horse did not timely enough draw down from the Top of the Hill, whereby they came to be discovered by the Enemy; who thereupon made the more haste to escape: However it was no small Loss to the Enemy, some of the Slain being known to be considerable Persons; and it struck such a Terror into them, that they never durst face our Men

was *Edward*. See *History and Antiquities of Boston*, 418. The Capt.

Holbrook, was perhaps *John* of *Weymouth*.

afterwards ; for although after our Men returned to their Quarters at *Medfield*, they saw two hundred Fires in the Night, yet they could never come near them again to fight any Company of them : but the Season proving rainy, hindered any further Pursuit of them at that Time.³⁵⁸ And soon after this, the Soldiers being [86] visited with sickly Distempers by reason of an epidemical Cold at that Time prevailing through the Country, they were for the present released for the recovery of their Health, with intent to be called together again at a more convenient Time ; this was done *May* the tenth.

During this Interval of Time, upon a Report that a Party of the Enemy that were discovered about *Rehoboth*, busie in Fishing in a River thereabouts, Capt. *Brattle* was sent up about the 23d of *May*, who with the Help of some of the Inhabitants, killed eleven or twelve of them with the Loss of one of our Men only : Had they not discovered some of ours on the opposite Shore, it was conceived a greater Spoil might have been made amongst them.³⁵⁹

But in the next Place we must take notice of the Proceedings of the Enemy about *Connecticut* : The greatest Body of them made towards *Plymouth Colony* early in the Spring as was said be-

³⁵⁸ This is probably the Expedition minutely detailed in the *Old Indian Chronicle*, 120-1, in which the friendly Natick Indians did all or nearly all of the fighting.

³⁵⁹ The Leader in this little Expedition was Capt. Thomas Brattle of Boston, of whom a pleasant Record is made by Gen. Gookin, in *History of Praying Indians*, 98.

fore, where we shall leave them for the present, and observe what the remaining Part of them did Westward.

Some scattering Parties were skulking about *Springfield*, and those lower Towns, upon a small Number of whom Capt. *Holioke* (newly chosen Captain of *Springfield* in the Room of his Father lately deceased) handselled his Office early in the Spring: for having Notice of some of them in those Woods, he marched after them with ten or twelve resolute young Men, and waiting his Opportunity, surprized them near the great River, so as two or three of them were left Dead upon the Place, another mortally wounded, got on to an Island in the River, where it was concluded he took his last Nights lodging. The other being sorely wounded, was taken alive, and brought Home to *Springfield*, where he confessed many Things to one of the Inhabitants that understood their Language, owning the Truth in many Things against his own Company, and soon after Dyed of his Wounds.³⁶⁰

This was but a Preparative to an higher Peice of Service, which Capt. *Holioke* was soon after engaged in, and wherein he acquitted himself beyond Expectation; and taking more Pains than ordinary in making his Retreat, he gat a Surfeit

³⁶⁰ According to Judd (good Authority) this was on April 27. *History of Hadley*, 169. The Indian who "died of his Wounds," said

the Indians had a thousand fighting Men up the River, and three Forts this Side of Squakeag. *Ibidum*. No mention of this by Mather.

that ended his Days in *September* following about *Boston*.³⁶¹

About the beginning of *April*³⁶² likewise some of the Inhabitants about *Hadly*, attending their Tillage at *Hockanum*, within three Miles of the Town, and having a Gaurd of Soldiers with them, yet three of the Company were casually slain by a Party of the Enemy, that lay in wait for such an Opportunity. One of them was Mr. *Goodman*, a Dea[87]con of the Church, that went a little beyond the Command of the Soldiers that came to gaurd them, to view the Fence of his own Land;³⁶³ and two others that contrary to exprefs Order, would venture upon the Top of an high Hill, near by, to take a needles and unreasonable View of the Country, were shot down by the Enemy before they could recover their *Corps du gard*.³⁶⁴

³⁶¹ Capt. Samuel *Holyoke* was Son of Capt. Elizur H., and according to the Records of Springfield, died 31st Oct., 1676, aged 29 Years wanting about one Month. *Springfield Records*.

³⁶² In his after Corrections the Author says the Massacre at Hockanum (now Dudley) occurred in March. The careful Judd, following Hubbard, as I suppose, says it was *about the first* of April. But there may be some Difference between *about the beginning*, and *about the first* of a Month.

³⁶³ Deacon Richard Goodman.

³⁶⁴ I suppose that since called Mount Holyoke (and so named from

the Holyoke Family). See Judd, *Hadley*, 165. Our Author does not mention any one being taken captive, but it appears from Mrs. Rowlandson, *Narrative*, 50, that Thomas Read was captured, and brought to the main Body of the Indians which then lay in "a mighty Thicket of Brush," in what is now Northfield, probably. She says: "About this Time [she has no Dates] they came yelping from Hadley, having there killed three Englishmen, and brought one Captive with them, namely, *Thomas Read*. They all gathered about the poor Man, asking him many Questions. I desired to go and see him; and

But the great Company of the Enemy that staid on that Side of the Country, and about *Watchuset Hills*, when the Rest went towards *Plimouth*, though they had been disappointed in their Planting, by the Death of *Canonchet*, were loth to lose the Advantage of the Fishing-season then coming in; wherefore having seated themselves near the upper Falls of *Connecticut River*, not far from *Deerfield*, and perceiving that the English Forces were now drawn off from the lower Towns of *Hadly* and *Northampton*, now and then took Advantages to plunder them of their Cattel, and not fearing any Assault from our Soldiers, grew a little secure, while they were upon their fishing Design, insomuch that a couple of English Lads³⁶⁵ lately taken captive by the Enemy, and making their Escape, acquainted their Friends at Home how secure they lay in those Places, which so animated the Inhabitants of *Hadly*, *Hatfield* and *Northampton*, that they being willing to be revenged for the Loss of their Cattel, besides other preceeding Mischiefs, took up a Resolution

when I came he was crying bitterly. Whereupon I asked one of them whether they intended to kill him. He answered me, they would not." *Ibidum*, p. 51. Read subsequently made his Escape and got safe to Hatfield.

³⁶⁵ Stebbins and Gilbert, who had been taken on the River below, and carried to the Falls. Hoyt, *Antiq. Researches*, 128. Mrs. Rowland-

son mentions "an English Youth, one John Gilbert of Springfield," whom she met with in Captivity, in a most pitiful Condition, about a Month before the Fall Fight. Stebbins' Name was Edward, as Mr. Breck informs us in his *Century Sermon* at Springfield, 1773; which "Youth" (Edward Stebbins) he says, was "Grandfather of some," then hearing his Sermon. See *Sermon*, p. 22.

with what Strength they could raise among themselves (partly out of garison Soldiers, and partly of the Inhabitants) to make an Assault upon them, which if it had been done with a little more Deliberation, waiting for the coming of Supplies expected from *Hartford*, might have proved a fatal Buſineſs to all the ſaid *Indians*: yet was the Victory obtained more conſiderable than at firſt was apprehended: For not having much above an hundred and fifty fighting Men in their Company, they marched ſilently in the dead of the Night, *May 18*, and came upon the ſaid *Indians* a little before Break of Day, whom they found almoſt in a dead Sleep, without any Scouts abroad, or watching about their Wigwams at Home; for in the Evening they had made themſelves merry with new Milk and roaſt Beef, having lately driven away many of their milch Cows, as an Engliſh Woman confeſſed, that was made to milk them.

When they came near the *Indians* Rendezvouze, they allighted off their Horſes, and tyed them to ſome young Trees at a quarter of a Miles Diſtance, ſo marching up,³⁶⁶ they fired amain into their very Wigwams, killing many upon the Place, and frightening others with the ſudden Alarm of their Guns, and made them run into the River, where the Swiftneſs of the Stream carrying them

³⁶⁶ “Finding them ſecure indeed, yea all aſleep without having any Scouts abroad; ſo that our Souldiers came and put their Guns into their Wigwams, before the Indians were aware of them, and made a great and notable Slaughter.” I. Mather, *Brief Hiſtory*, 147.

down a steep Fall, they perished in the Wa-[88] ters,³⁷⁶ some getting into Canoes, (Small Boats made of the Bark of birchen Trees) which proved to them a *Charons* Boat, being sunk, or overfet, by the Shooting of our Men, delivered them into the like Danger of the Waters, giving them thereby a Passport into the other World: others of them creeping for Shelter under the Banks of the great River, were espyed by our Men and killed by their Swords; Capt. *Holioke* killing five, young and old, with his own Hands from under a Bank. When the Indians were first awakened with the Thunder of their Guns, they cried out *Mohawks, Mohawks*, as if their own native Enemies had been upon them; but the dawning of the Light, soon notified their Error, though it could not prevent the Danger.³⁶⁸

Such as came back, spake sparingly of the Number of the Slain; some say there could not in Reason be less than two or three hundred of them that must necessarily Perish in the midst of so many Instruments of Destruction managed

³⁶⁷ "Sundry of them who were at several Times taken after this Slaughter, affirm that many of the Indians that were driven down the Falls, got safe on Shore again, and that they lost not above three score Men in the Fight: Also that they killed thirty and eight Englishmen; which indeed is just the Number missing." *Brief History*, 149.

³⁶⁸ There are two other contem-

porary Accounts of this celebrated Fight, published at the Time. That in the *Old Indian Chronicle*, and that by Dr. I. Mather in his *Brief History*. The former is even more circumstantial than our Author. See also Backus, *History of New-England*, i, 426-7. A further Elucidation may be had by a Recurrence to Judd, *History of Hadley*, 169-71, and to Hoyt, *Antiq. Researches*, 128-33.

against them with such Disadvantages to themselves. Some of their Prisoners afterwards owned that they lost above three hundred in that Camizado, some whereof were principal Men, Sachims, and some of their best fighting Men that were left, which made the Victory more considerable than else it would have been; nor did they seem ever to have recovered themselves after this Defeat, but their Ruine immediately fell upon it.³⁶⁹ Yet such was the awful Hand of Providence, in the Close of this Victory, mixing much bitter with the sweet, that it might well be called a costly Victory to the Conquerors, that so no Flesh should glory in itself.

The *Indians* that lay scattering on both Sides of the River, after they recovered themselves, and discovered the small Number of them that assailed them, turned Head upon the English, who in their Retreat were a little disordered, for want of the Help of the eldest Captain, that was so enfeebled by Sickness before he set out, that he was no way able for want of bodily Strength (nor any way defective for want of Skill or Courage) to assist or direct in making the Retreat: For some of the Enemy fell upon the Gaurds that kept the Horses, others pursued them in the Reer, so, as

³⁶⁹ There was a great Propensity to exaggerate the Numbers of the Enemy. They were not probably more than half as numerous as represented. Thomas Read, the Captive before mentioned, arrived in

Hatfield only four Days before the Fight. He said he could not think there were at the Falls above 60 or 70 fighting Men, on both Sides of the River. As to those above and below that Place he could not judge.

our Men sustained pretty much Damage as they retired, missing after their Return thirty eight of their Men.³⁷⁰ And if Capt. *Holioko* had not played the Man at a more than ordinary rate, sometimes in the Front, sometimes in the Flank and Reer, at all Times encouraging the Soldiers, it might have proved a fatal Business to the Assailants. The said Capt. *Holiokes* Horse was shot down under him, and himself ready to be assaulted by many of the *Indians*, just coming upon him; but discharging his Pistols upon one or two of them, whom he [89] presently dispatched; and another Friend coming up to his Rescue, he was saved, and so carried off the Soldiers without any further Loss.

It is confidently reported by some that were there present at this Engagement, that one told above an hundred *Indians* left Dead upon the Place; and another affirmed, that he told near an hundred and forty swimming down the Falls, none of which were observed to get alive to Shore, save one.³⁷¹

The Loss that befel our Men in the Retreat, was occasioned principally by the bodily Weakness of Capt. *Turner*, unable to manage his Charge any longer: yet some say they wanted Powder,

³⁷⁰ The Agreement of the Accounts, as to the Loss of the English, is quite remarkable. See *Note*, 367.

³⁷¹ That any one, in the Tumult of a Battle, should find Time deliberately to count dead Indians,

floating down the River, appears a singular Absurdity; for the English themselves own that they were thrown into the greatest Confusion immediately after the Attack was made.

which forced them to retire as fast as they could by Capt. *Turners* Order.³⁷²

It is said also by one present at the Fight, that seven or eight in the Rear of the English, through haste missed their Way, and were never heard of again; and without doubt fell into the Indians Hands, and it is feared some of them were tortured.

About seven Days after this, they were minded to try the Chance of War again, and see if they could not recover their Loss, by returning the like upon the English: For,

May 30. A great Number of them appeared before *Hatfield*, fired about twelve Houses and Barns without the Fortification of the Town, driving away Multitudes of their Cattel, and their Sheep, spreading themselves in the Meadow near the Town: which Bravado so raised the Courage of the Neighbours of *Hadly*, that twenty five resolute young Men ventured over the River, to relieve *Hatfield* in this Distress, who charged the Enemy with such an undaunted Courage and Resolution (*Audaces fortuna juvat*) that they beat down five or six at the first Shot they made; so

³⁷² There does not appear to have been any Order preserved by the attacking Party after the first Onset; and that, as soon as the Indians were aroused, they seem to have caused such a Panic among the English, that their Officers could not control them; and thus the Fight ended in a disgraceful Rout. That Capt. Turner did all that a brave

and valiant Commander could do under such Circumstances, there can be no Question. And, if the Falls where the Fight occurred must bear an English Name, that of Turner is the most appropriate. But the Indian Name is always to be preferred, for it is ever significant for what the Place was originally noted. See Hoyt, *Antq. Researches*, 131.

making Way through the thickest of their Enemies that lay ready to take Aim at them behind every Tree as they passed by; yet they escaped all their Shot till they came within a little of the Town they came to relieve, where they lost five of their twenty five.³⁷³

The Enemy were so amazed at the Resolution of our Men, being but so small a Handfull, that they fled immediately from the Town; having lost twenty five of their Men in the Enterprize.

The Council of the *Massachusetts*, gathering by these Proceedings of the *Indians*, that their Desire of Peace was only to gain Time, Ordered that the Forces raised before *Apr. 27*, and for a Time released, should be hastned out again to range the Woods towards *Hadly*, and those Parts; made an Agreement with *Hartford Colony*, to send Forces from thence to meet them about *Brookfield*, and so to scour along on both Sides *Connecticut River*, to distress the Enemy what they could, and keep them from Fish[90]ing in those Waters, their Hope of Planting being now almost over.

To this End about *May 30. 1676*, the Forces under Capt. *Henchman* were called together again, and sent to *Brookfield* to meet with those expected

³⁷³ Important Materials from original Papers may be seen in the *History of Hadley*, 176-7, with which to illustrate this Period. "Two of our Men killed, Jobama Smith and Richard Hall; John Stow wounded in the Foot, and Roger Orvis also wounded in the

Foot. John Smith of Hadley, killed, and two of their own Garrison Soldiers." Letter of Capt. Newbury. The Connecticut Men came up 450 strong, 250 of whom were mounted. Of these 200 were friendly Indians, Pequots, Mohegans and Narragansets.

from *Hartford Colony*: In the Way, ours by the Direction of *Tom Doublet* (a *Natick Indian*, who was a little before employed in the Redemption of Captives) following Tracts of *Indians* came upon a Party of the Enemy, Fishing in *Weshacom Ponds* towards *Lancaster*, of whom they killed seven and took twenty nine, most Women and Children; yet belonging to considerable Persons, it made the Success the more to be valued.³⁷⁴ Our Forces being by this Means retarded, could not meet with those of *Connecticut* at *Brookfield*; but followed them the Week after, having first returned from *Weshacom* to *Marlborough* to supply themselves with Ammunition, and so marched directly towards *Hadly*, where they met with *Connecticut Forces*; and from thence according to mutual Agreement, ours marched³⁷⁵ on the East-side of the River, and *Connecticut Forces* on the West, up towards *Squakheag*. Coming to *Deerfield*, and the great Falls thereabouts, they sent up their Scouts; but not hearing of the Enemy, they marched up no higher, being in no good Capacity to have gone further if there had been Occasion, by Reason of a tedious Storm of Rain, which occasioned much Damage in their Ammu-

³⁷⁴ This Exploit was on June 7th, according to I. Mather, *Brief History*, 154. See also Gookin, *Hist. Praying Indians*, 105. *Tom Doublet*, was before called *Tom Nepanet*. The Captives which he was before employed to redeem were those taken at Lancaster. Mrs. Row-

landson merely mentions him as *Tom*.

³⁷⁵ They marched June 17th, (a since doubly memorable Day in our Annals). The *Connecticut Forces* arrived at Hadley about the 8th. Both English and Indians are graphically described by Judd.

nition and Provision. While our Forces lay about *Deerfield*, some of our Soldiers ranging, lighted upon the Body of Capt. *Turner* about *Greens River*,³⁷⁶ in passing of which Stream he was supposed to have received his mortal Wounds.

While our Forces continued thereabouts, they did the Enemy some little Spoil in seizing much of their Fish, and Goods stolen from the English, and hid in their Barns under Ground; conjecturing also that they found four or five Places where some of the English had been tortured to Death by cruel burning, after they had been fastned between Stakes set in the Ground: but not meeting with any of the Enemy, they all hastned Homewards conceiving that having been forced from their Quarters in those Parts, they were drawn down lower towards the English Plantations Eastward, viz, *Plimouth* and *Massachusetts*. What Success Capt. *Henchman's* Forces had in their retiring Homeward, and what they observed of the Motion of the *Indians*, take in the Words of his own Letter, *June 30 Our Scouts brought Inteligence that all the Indians were in a continual Motion, some toward Narhaganset, others towards Watchuset, shifting gradually, and taking up each others Quarters, and lay not above a Night in a Place. They, [the] 27 ditto, brought in two Squaws, a Boy and a Girl, giving Account of five slain. Yesterday, they brought in an old Fellow*

³⁷⁶ How the Name of this River since called *Green River*. It passes originated does not appear, but it is through *Greenfield*.

Brother to a Sachim, six Squaws and Children, having killed five Men, and wounded o [91] thers, if not killed them, as they supposed by the Blood found in the Way, and an Hat shot through. These, and the other inform, that Philip and the Narhagansets were gone several Days before to their own Places. Philips Purpose being to do what Mischief he could to the English. By Advice, I drew out a commanded Party under the Conduct of Capt. Sill, viz. sixteen Files of English, all my Troop, and the Indians, excepting one File, being all we could make Provision for : for what with the falling short of the Bread promised us, and a great deal of that we had proving mouldy, the Rest of the Forces had but one Bisket a Man to bring them to this Place. This Party were ordered towards Watchuset, and so to Nashaway and the Washakem Ponds, where we have Notice Indians were, and so to return unto this Place : where by your Honours Letter that came to me Yesterday Morning, I understood that Provision was ordered for us ; and which we found to our great Relief, last Night, coming hither, *Weary and Hungry*. The commanded Party we left at Quonsequomon, where they intended to stay a While for the last Scouts we sent out : eleven Prisoners we had in all ; two of the oldest by Counsel we put to Death, the other nine the Commissary is ordered to convey to Boston, with the Baggage, Horses, and some of their Attendants not fit for the Service.

Daniel Henchman.

It appears plainly by the Contents of the said

Letter, as well as by many other Testimonies, that about this Time the *Indians* our Enemies who hitherto had been linked together as Brethren in Iniquity and Cruelty, were now strangely divided and seperated the one from the other: some impute it to an Assault made upon them by the *Mohawkes*, who falling upon *Philip* with the Inland-Indians, slew about fifty of them:³⁷⁷ whereupon they of *Philips* Company resolved to return to their own Country, and do what Mischief they could to the English thereabouts: This was reported by an *Indian* brought to *Seaconk* June 29. 1676, taken at *Providence*. Others are ready to think, that it was upon some Quarrel amongst themselves, occasioned by an evil Spirit sent from God upon them, that thereby they might, being scattered, the more easily be taken and ruined by the English, now that the Time of Vengeance was come, when they shall be called to an Account for all their former Outrages and Cruelties: for now is the Snare hastning upon them, wherein they shall be hampered in their own Devices, so to be taken and destroyed: it cannot but be acknowledged as a very remarkable Providence, that Capt. *Henchman* in his late Expedition to *Hadly*, killed and took about eighty four of the Enemy, without the Loss of any one of his own Men: the [92]

³⁷⁷ The precise Date of the Onslaught upon the New England Indians by the Mohawks nowhere appears. It was not long, how-

ever, previous to July 5th (1676) as it is evident from Gov. Andros's Letter of that Date, already used in a former Note, (341.)

like favourable Success hapned to Major *Talcot*, in his Passage from *Norwich* to *Quabaog*, as was said before, and soon after his Return.³⁷⁸

But by that Time our Forces were returned Home as far as *Sudbury*, they were ordered, upon the Solicitation of the Governour of *Plimouth*, two Companies of them at least, to march away immediately to *Dedham*, and so to *Seaconk* or *Rehoboth*, to join with Major *Bradford* in the Pursuit of *Philip*, who as it seems, with many hundreds of his barbarous Followers were fallen upon the English Plantations thereabouts, and whither also a little before, Captain *Brattle* with a Troop of Horse, and Capt. *Mosely* with a Foot Company were sent up from *Boston* to pursue after them, now flocking in great Numbers into those Woods; there was at this Time no small Hope of surprising *Philip*: several Reports being brought that he was seen in this and that Place, not with above twenty or thirty Men attending on him: but his Time was not yet fully come, nor had he as yet fully accomplished all that Mischief he was like to be suffered to do: For upon *July 1st*,³⁷⁹ 1676, a Party of his *Indians* committed an horrid and barbarous Murder upon Mr. *Hezekiah Willet* in *Swanzey*, an hopeful young Gentleman as any in those Parts. They used frequently to

³⁷⁸ See a long Letter of Major Tallcott, dated at Mr. Thomas Stanton's, in the Narraganset Country, July 4th, 1676, in *Colonial Records, Connecticut*, ii, 45-89, in

which a Detail is given of his Expedition. See also, I. Mather, *Brief History*, 173:4.

³⁷⁹ This Date should be June 26th, 1676. See *Table, No. 2.*

keep a Sentinel on the Top of their House, from a Watch-house built thereon, whence they could discover any *Indians* before they came near the House: but not hearing of the Enemy in those Parts for a considerable Time, that necessary Piece of Circumspection was omitted that Day, whereby that deserving Person was betrayed into their cruel Hands: for within a Quarter of an Hour after he went out of his own Doors, within Sight of his House, he was shot at by three of them at once, from every one of whom he received a mortal Wound; they after their barbarous Manner took off his Head, and carried it away with them (which yet was soon after recovered) leaving the Trunk of his Body behind, as a sad Monument of their inhumane Cruelty; the same *Indians*, not being above thirty in Number, took away a *Negro* belonging to the same Family, who being Faithful to his Masters, and the Countries Interest, ventured his Life to make his Escape, which was the Preservation of many others: for the said *Negro* being a little acquainted with their Language, discovered to the English after his Escape, *Philips* Purpose to seize such and such Places: in the first Place to assault *Taunton*, which in Probability had been in great Danger, if their treacherous Plots and Purposes had not so wonderfully been made known

A Pedigree of the Willet Family *ter*, ii, 376. For other Facts respecting the *Negro* mentioned in this Connection, see Note 399.

beforehand. The said *Negro* affirmed, that there was near a thousand of them: for he observed, that although they had killed twenty Head of Neat Cattel over Night, yet there was not any Part of them left the [93] next Day at eight of the Clock in the Morning. By this special Providence the Enemy was defeated of their Purpose, and never after had any Opportunity of doing any considerable Damage to the English in that Part of the Country. So as after this Day we may truly date the Time of our Deliverance, and Beginning of Revenges upon the Enemy: Now is their own Turn come, when it shall be done unto them, as they have served us: They that before led others into Captivity, must themselves henceforth go into Captivity: And they that killed with the Sword, must themselves be killed with the Sword, as in the Sequel of the Narrative will abundantly be manifest; The History of which before we shall any further pursue, we must in a little While wait upon our Friends, (those Forces sent from *Connecticut*) in their Return back into their own Colony, which before it be done, some things should be premised concerning the Occasion of their coming, and the Success that did attend them in their March thither.

Our Friends and Brethren of that Colony, although they had never actually felt Half of those Miseries that befell the People of the other two, yet never denied their Assistance to the suppressing of the common Enemy, yea, sometimes they afford it before it was expressly desired; ac-

cording to the Tenor of the Articles of Confederation, and Rules of common Prudence; considering that if the Fire of this War were not timely extinguished, it would endanger their own *Fabrick*: Therefore according to Agreement, the Council of that Colony ordered their successful Commander Major *Talcot* to meet with our Forces at *Brookfield*, or *Quaboag* in order to the pursuing of the Enemy in those Parts: In the Way as they were from *Norwich* marching thither, Divine Providence so far smiled upon the Enterprize, as to give them an Opportunity to surprise fifty one of the Enemy, of whom nineteen were slain, without the Loss of any one of their own Company, which could not but much enhance the Price of the Victory to the Conquerors.³⁸⁰

The like Success had their Friends which they left behind (the Volunteers gathered out of three Towns by the Sea Side, *New London*, *Stonington* and *Norwich*) and who were some of them released by Major *Talcot*, when he first began his March, that they might the better in the Absence of the Army, guard their own Towns: for before the Return of the Forces under Major *Talcot*, to that Side of the Country, they had made two Expeditions against their Enemies the *Narbagansets*, that were skulking up and down on that Side of the Country; In one of which they killed and took above thirty, the most of which being Men are said to have been slain by them.

³⁸⁰ The Connecticut Forces returned to Hartford, July 8th, "to recruit themselves." See Letter of the Council of Connecticut to Gov. Andros, dated July 8th. *Colony Records, Connecticut*, ii, 461.

[94] In the other about forty five, the most of which probably were Women and Children, but being all young Serpents of the same Brood,³⁸¹ the subduing or taking so many, ought to be acknowledged as another signal Victory, and Pledg of Divine Favour to the English. But to return, it was not without the special Direction of Providence, that those *Hartford* Forces were sent to those western Towns a Week before those of the Massachusetts could get thither; for otherwise one or more of those towns might have been lost; seeing that on the twelfth of *June*, soon after, if not the next Day, after they arrived there,³⁸² the Enemy, as if resolved to try the utmost of their Power, violently assaulted the Town of *Hadly*, with a Body of about seven hundred Men, at five or six in the Morning, laying an Ambush at one End of the Town, while the greater Part of them were alarming the other: But the *Connecticut* Forces being at that Time quartered in the Town thereabouts (who were English and friendly *Indians*, *Pequods* and *Mobegins*, about five hundred in all)³⁸³ that were ready at Hand, besides these that had been quartered there ever since *March*, (who had been left by Major *Savage* when he had

³⁸¹ It is humiliating to meet with Expressions like this. How far removed from Savage is that Community which endorses such Sentiments may safely be left to the Judgment of those who come after us.

³⁸² Tallcott was at Chabana-

konghomun (now Dudley, Mass.) June 5th, at Quabaog on the 7th, and at Northampton on the 8th. *Tallcott's Letter.*

³⁸³ The Indians were under the immediate Command of *Oneko*, (a Son of Uncas) *Cassasinamon*, and *Catapazat*.

left those Parts, under the Command and Charge of Captain *Turner*, slain at the great Falls, as is noted before, but since commanded by Captain *Swain*).³⁸⁴ These by their joynt and ready Resistance, wherein the Fence of Pallizadoes furrounding the Town, was no little Advantage, gave the *Indians* such a smart Repulse, that they found the Place too hot for them to abide it. For the Soldiers or Townsmen within, firing a Piece of Ordnance, it so affrighted the Savages, or a Party of them, against whom it was discharged, that although they had just before surprised, and possessed an House, at the north End of the Town, if Information mistake not, yet they instantly fled, leaving some of their Dead upon the Place; Nor did they any considerable Mischief with all their Numbers, save firing a Barn about that End of the Town, and slaying two or three of the Soldiers, or too daring Inhabitants, who would against express Order adventure to go without the Fortification.

It was accounted by some that were present near the Time of that Assault, a great oversight, that having so fair an Opportunity to chase the Enemy upon so considerable Advantage, it was let slip, and not improved: For *Connecticut* Soldiers being all, or most of them furnished with Horses, they might have been soon overtaken,

³⁸⁴ Jeremiah Swain, I suppose, *History and Antiquities, Boston*, who had been a Lieutenant under 414. The same probably with Capt Appleton at the Narraganset Col. Church in the Eastern War. Fort Fight the previous Year. See *Book of the Indians*, 698.

and many of them destroyed, but God hid it from their Eyes : The Commander in Chief, it is said, quartered at one of the Towns on the West Side of the River, and did not apprehend the Advantage, till the Season was over. Nor was any such Thing as an Assault expected from the Enemy, so early in the [95] Morning : it being a general Observation heretofore, that they seldom, or never used to make any Attempt in the Night Time ; Part of which could not but be improved in Way of Preparation for such a Design.

But the Lord of Hosts who is Wise in Counsel, and Wonderful in working, would find some other Way to destroy our Enemies, wherein the Hand of his Providence, should more remarkably be seen, that so no Flesh should glory in its own Wisdom or Strength, but that Salvation might appear to be from the Lord alone. The Rest of this Month was spent without any other Matter of Moment happening therein.³⁸⁵

The Governour and Council of the *Massachusetts*, taking into serious Consideration, the many merciful Occurrents that had been returned upon us, notwithstanding the mixing of many Dispensations of a contrary Nature, accounted themselves bound to make some publick Acknowledgment thereof, to him whose Name alone is worthy to be praised. The 29th of that Month of *June*, was set apart as a Day of publick Thanksgiving

³⁸⁵ See I. Mather, *Brief History*, *ley*, 178. See also *Table*, No. 15, 155-7 ; and Judd, *History of Had-* and Dr. I. Mather, *Brief Hist.*, 154.

to God, who had remembered his People thus in their low Estate. And that Matter of Thanksgiving might not be wanting at the Day appointed, the very Day before were most of our English Captives brought back from the *Indians*, and many more soon after, to the Number of sixteen, whose Mouths might then well be filled with Laughter, and their Tongues with singing both of themselves, and all that were any Ways concerned in their Welfare.³⁸⁶

And as this Day appointed for solemn and publick Thanksgiving, was ushered in by several special Mercies, so also was it followed with many remarkable Benefits.

For besides the preserving the Town of *Northampton*, *March* the 14th, and *Hadly*, *June* the 12th, by the opportune sending of our Forces the very Night before they were assaulted: The saving the People of *Marlborough* from being cut off, was very observable, when Mr. *Graves*³⁸⁷ by his occasional going from the Sermon, being forced thereunto by the Extremity of the Tooth-ach, *March* 26, discovered the *Indians* ready to assault the Town, and the People might have been cut off, had not that Accident intervened. It is certain, that after the End of this Month, the Power of the Enemy began every where to

³⁸⁶ This Return of Prisoners was that of those taken at Lancaster with Mrs. Rowlandson, probably. See I. Mather, *Prevalency of Prayer*, (in *Relation*) 262.

³⁸⁷ Mr. Thomas *Greaves*. See a *Note* on this Attack in the *Brief History*, 127. Mr. Greaves may not have been the regular Minister. See Farmer's *Gen. Register*, 128.

fail; for the Body of the Enemy, that had lurked about *Connecticut* River all this Spring, being visited with sundry Diseases, disappointed of their Fishing and put by their Planting, began to fall at variance amongst themselves; the *Hadly* and *Pocumtuck Indians* quarrelling with *Philip* for fetching all this Mischief about, and occasioning the English and them to fall out, with whom they had always good Correspondence, and lived lovingly [96] together, but now they were like to be ruined by the War. This Quarrel proceeded to that Height, that from that Time forward, those several *Indians* that had for so long Time been combined together, resolved now to part, and every one to shift for themselves, and return to their own Homes: *Philip* to *Mount-Hope*, and the *Narhagansets* to their own Country again: the *Nipnets* and the *River-Indians*,³⁸⁸ bending their Course, some Westward, others Northward towards *Pennicook* upon *Merrimack*, intending to shift for themselves as well as they could for the Future; all which is like to be the real and true State of the Case with the *Indians* which were our Enemies: For the next News we heard of *Philip*, was, that he was gotten back to *Mount-Hope*, now like to become *Mount-Misery* unto him, and his Vagabond Crew; and that his Friends and Allies, that had hitherto stood as Neuters, waiting

³⁸⁸ Rather indefinite. Many Clans of the Natives in different Localities upon the Borders of large Rivers are so designated. See *Book of the Indians*, 281. Our Author probably here refers to such Indians as inhabited high upon the *Connecticut*.

only which Way the Scale of Success and Victory would turn, began now to sue for Mercy at the Hands of the English: The *Massachusetts* Government having understood Something of this Nature, put forth a *Declaration*, that whatsoever *Indians* should within fourteen Days next ensuing come in to the English, might hope for Mercy.³⁸⁹

Amongst Sundry that came in, there was one named *James* the *Printer*, the superadded Title distinguishing him from others of that Name; who being a notorious Apostate, that had learned so much of the English, as not only to read and write, but had attained likewise some Skill in Printing, and might have attained more (had he not like a false Villain ran away from his Master before his Time was out) he having seen and read the said Declaration of the English, did venture himself upon the Faith thereof, and came to sue for his Life; he affirmed, with others that came along with him, that more *Indians* had dyed since this War began of Diseases (such as at other Times they used not to be acquainted withal) than by the Sword of the English.³⁹⁰

³⁸⁹ The Purport of the Proclamation was an Invitation to the Indians to cease their Depredations, and to surrender to the Authorities. No Amnesty was offered, further than in the Judgment of the English it might consist with their Ideas of Justice. All those who had been known to have been engaged in the War were to expect only such

Terms as their Conquerors might be disposed to award.

For important Documents like the one here referred to we look in vain into our published *Colonial Records*, which we are as insultingly as impudently told are *edited*!

³⁹⁰ Little can be added to what is contained in the *Book of the Indians* relative to this "notorious

Not long after many of them came and offered themselves, to the Number of near two hundred, Men, Women, and Children; and many more would have done the like, but their Conscioufness of Guilt made them conclude, that their Cruelties and barbarous Murthers could never be forgiven by the English.³⁹¹

But what Occurrents happened next shall be declared in their Order.

About the End of *June* News was brought to *Boston*, that *Philip* with a small Party of his Men, lurked about *Swanzy* or *Rehoboth*, and that he might easily be taken, an *Indian* offering to bring them to the Place where they might find him; whereupon Soldiers were instantly sent away from *Boston*, who spent some Time in searching all the Woods on that Side the Country, [97] but at last were forced to return, having missed at what they aimed at.

Plimouth Colony likewise sent out Soldiers upon the same Account under Major *Bradford*, who by the help of some *Indians* of *Cape Cod*, always true, to the English Interest, not only escaped an Ambush laid for them, whereby most of them might

Apostate." His Indian Name was *Wewaus*, and a fac-simile of his Autograph may be seen in the *History and Antiquities of Boston*, 422. See also I. Mather, *Brief History*, 172-3. Printer's former Usefulness and promised future Service probably saved his Neck from the Halter; for many less Guilty

than he suffered the extreme Penalty. He lived many Years after the War. See *Massachusetts Colony Records*, v.

³⁹¹ The Surrenders briefly alluded to in this Paragraph probably includes "That abominable Indian," Peter Jethro. See Mather's *Relation*, 257.

have been cut off, but slew many of those that laid wait for them, without any Loss to themselves: yea further, a Squaw Sachem of *Sakonnet*,³⁹² one of *Philips* Allies, having first sent three Messengers to the Governour of *Plimouth* to sue for Life and Liberty, promising Submission to their Government on that Condition; but understanding the *Plimouth Forces* were abroad, before her Messengers were returned, she with her People, about ninety in Number, rendred themselves up to Major *Bradford*, so that above one hundred and ten were killed, and taken upon Composition that Day.³⁹³

The like Success had the *Connecticut Forces* sent into the *Narhaganset* Country, under the Conduct of the wonderful successful Major *Talcot*, Capt. *George Denison*, Capt. *Newbery*, with other worthy Commanders of the said Forces; for about the second of *July*, 1676, as the said Commanders with the Forces under them were pursuing the Enemy in and about the *Narhaganset* Country toward *Mount-hope* hearing that *Philip* with his black Regiment of *Wompanoogs* was

³⁹² This was *Awasponks*, who makes an important Figure in Old Colony History. Having had occasion to notice her extensively in the *Book of the Indians*, I need only to refer to that Work. Dr. Cotton Mather says "Major Bradford was the *Oedipus* by whom that *Sphinx* was conquered." But Capt. Church was the Means of causing the Surrender of *Awasponks* and her

Sogkonates, or *Seconets*.

³⁹³ The Massachusetts Men mentioned in the last Paragraph, marched from Boston, June 30th. They had received Intelligence that Philip was at "a certain Place," but when they reached the Point "they found that he was newly gone." The Plymouth Men were already in the Field, and chiefly under the Guidance of the bold Capt. Church.

thereabouts, their *Indian* Scouts from the Top of an Hill discovered a great Number of the Enemy that had newly pitched their Station within the Semicircle of a Swamp. The English Soldiers were all mounted on Horseback, to the Number of near three hundred; wherefore the Commanders ordered the *Indians* to be ready at the Top of the Hill upon a Signal given to run down amain upon the Enemy, securely lodged in the Hollow of the Swamp just opposite against them, while their Horsemen were divided into two Squadrons to ride round the Hill, so that at the same Instant, both the Horsemen upon the two Wings, and the *Indians* afoot rushing down suddenly upon the Enemy, put them to an horrible Fright, making a lamentable Outcry, some getting into the Swamp, the rest that were prevented by the Horsemen, and the friendly *Indians* coming so suddenly upon them, were all taken Prisoners; Capt. *Newbery* with his Troop alighting from their Horses, ran into the Swamp after them, where they killed at least an hundred, as was judged by some then present; taking also many Prisoners out of those Habitations of Darkness, the Enemy scarce daring to make any Resistance; for none of the English, and but one or two of the *Mobegins* and *Pequods* were hurt in that Assault: yet it was affirmed by a Captain present on the Place, that with those they killed and took at *Warwick-neck*, in their return Home (which were not much above sixty) [98] they killed and took of the Enemy at that Time above

three hundred young and old. At the same Time was taken the old Squaw of *Narbaganset*, commonly called *the old Queen*.³⁹⁴

They were necessitated with this Booty to return Homewards to gratify the *Mobegin* and *Pequod Indians* that accompanied them, who had done them very good Service in the Pursuit, having lost one or two of their Men in the Chase: But their return Home, was, as it proved in the Issue, more beneficial than their longer Stay might have been, to have made a fruitless Pursuit after *Philip* (whose Time was not yet come, although hastning apace): for in their Return they met sixty of the Enemy, all of them they slew and took, so as their Swords returned not empty.

Within a few Days after, two hundred of the Enemy within *Plimouth* Jurisdiction being distressed with Famine, and fear of Danger, came and submitted themselves to the Governour there: But three of the Company were presently detected of a cruel Murther, and villanous Assault upon one Mr. *Clarkes* House of *Plimouth*, by a well-minded Squaw that was among them (hoping that possibly such a Discovery would be pleasing to the English) and accordingly adjudged forthwith to undergo condign Punishment, which the Rest that surrendered themselves were no whit

³⁹⁴ Major Tallcott speaks of her in rather vindictive Terms. "Among which slaughter," he writes, "was that ould Peice of Venum, Sunck Squaw, Magnus." *Colonial Records of Connecticut*, ii, 458. *Book of the Indians*, 134, 248. See also Trumbull, *History of Connecticut*, i, 347.

troubled at, such kind of Villains being always exempted from all Acts of Favour and Mercy.³⁹⁵ Those two hundred that had newly surrendered themselves, that they might give full Proof of their Fidelity, offered to lead a Party of the English to a Place not far off, where twenty more of the Enemy might be surprized, amongst whom also was one, known to be a bloody Murtherer of an English man that Year before; accordingly eight English men took fourteen of the said *Indians*, and the next Day brought in all the afore-said twenty of the Enemy with the said Murtherer; who was presently executed, the Rest being accepted into Favour.

It is affirmed likewise, that five or six Sachims of *Cape Cod*, towards the Eastern Part of it, came with three hundred *Indians* to make Peace with the English, on the 6th of July; one of the said Sachims earnestly desiring the English that none of them might be suffered to sell any strong Liquors to the *Indians*, the trading of which,

³⁹⁵ A sequel to this will be found in the *Appendix* to Mather, *Brief History*, 251-3, extracted from *Plymouth Colonial Records*, v, 204-5. One *Keweenam*, "sometimes of Sandwich," appears to have been the Instigator of the Eel River Murders, but *Tatofon*, or as Capt. Church calls him, *Totofon*, was the Leader of the Party. Three other Indians were before the Council at the same Time, implicated in the same Murders. Their Names were

Woodcocke, *Quanapawhan* and *John Num*. The two former were accused by a Squaw of having been in the Eel River Murders; and finally, all three of them confessed that they were Participants in it. John Num owned also that he was of that Company that murdered Jacob Mitchell and his Wife, and John Pope, at Dartmouth. Whereupon they were all three "mediately" executed. *Ibidum*, 205. See *Note 491*, onward.

possibly hath had no small Influence into the present Mischiefs.³⁹⁶

The next Day, *July* the 7th, a small Party of ours, with a few friendly or Christians *Indians* with them, killed and took seven of the Enemy in the Woods not far from *Dedham*, one of which was a *Narhaganfet* Sachim ;³⁹⁷ who either himself, informed, or by some other at that Time, certain Intelligence was brought to *Boston*, that some of our Enemy *Indians* were gotten to *Albany*, informing the People there, that they might the [99] more easily get Powder and Ammunition, that the English and they were now at Peace : One of the said *Indians* was the Sachim of *Springfield*, a bloody and deceitful Villain ; It is hoped that he is now taken in the Snare from whence he shall never be suffered to escape.³⁹⁸

Philip by this Time could not but think his Ruin hastned apace, yet that he might in Imitation of him that stirred up all this Mischief express the more Wrath, because he knew his Time was but short, intended if possible to destroy one Town more of the English before his turn came ; wherefore *July* 11, with all the Forces he could get, or that he had left, he intended to set upon

³⁹⁶ The Author makes an unaccountable Mistake in this Paragraph. Instead of "six Sachims of *Cape Cod*," &c., we should read "six Sachims from the East of *Pascataqua*." See *Book of the Indians*, 699.

"petty Sachem," but nothing as to what Tribe he belonged. See *Brief History*, 176.

³⁹⁸ See *Note, ante*, 341. The Name of the "Sachim of *Springfield*," as given by the Council of *Connecticut*, was *Cogepieson*. *Col. Records Ct.*, ii, 462.

³⁹⁷ Dr. Mather says he was a

Taunton, having as was conceived, many hundreds in his Company; but his Design being strangely discovered by a *Negro* whom they had taken Captive a little before, that having lived near the *Indians* before, understood much of their Language, who making his Escape from them, acquainted the Inhabitants with the Plot; who having timely Notice, furnished themselves with Soldiers, whereby they were able to repulse the Enemy upon the first approach:³⁹⁹ so as he only fired two Houses, and then fled away; *Except the Lord keepeth the City, the Watchmen watcheth but in vain.*

The 22d of this Month of *July*, as is hinted before, the Companies sent from *Concord*, *May* 30, up towards *Hadly*, having spent much Time and Pains in pursuit of *Philip* all the Country over (whom they could not yet overtake) having tired themselves with many long and tedious Marches through the desert Woods: before they returned Home, some of them were sent towards *Mount-hope*, yet was their Labour well improved, and followed with good Success at the last: for, in ranging those Woods in *Plimouth Colony*, they

³⁹⁹ I do not find anywhere else any adequate acknowledgement of great Obligation the English of *Plymouth Colony* were under to this *Negro* for saving *Taunton* from Destruction. He went by the Name of *Jethro*. In the *Plymouth Col. Records*, v, 216, may be seen a very singular Order concerning him. It is there said he was "retaken againe

by our Army," that he "appertained to the Estate of the Successors of Capt. Willett, deceased," that it was agreed "with Mr. John Saffin, Adminestration of the said Estate, mutually, that the said *Negro* doe forthwith betake himselfe to his former Service, and to remaine a Servant untill two Years be expired," &c.

killed and took, by the help of Capt. *Mosely's* Company, and Capt. *Brattles* Troop joyning with Major *Bradford's* Company of *Plimouth Colony*, an hundred and fifty *Indians*, with the Loss of never an English Man.

It was feared that *Philip* and his Company would have returned into the *Nipnet Country*; to prevent which, several Horsemen were sent to guard the Passage; but he lurked about his own Country in Swamps and other secret Places, where he was yet hid from the Sight of the English, although many Times they hapned to lodge very near him, insomuch as an *Indian* Captive promised in two Hours time to bring our Soldiers to the very Place where he was; but they not being able to pass the nearest Way, came a little too late; for they being so hotly pursued, hastened away, leaving much of their Treasure behind them, their Kettles boyling over the Fire, their Dead unburied, and twenty of their Party were overtaken, that fell into the English Hands:⁴⁰⁰ *Philip* himself, and some [100] few of his straggling Followers, make their Escape by a Raft over an Arm of the Sea, into another Neck of Land on *Pocasset* Side, not daring to trust himself any longer in *Metapoyset* Woods, so full of our English Soldiers, as well those of *Plimouth*, as of the *Massachusetts Colony*, who almost every Day meeting with some of his Party, much lessened his Number. Capt. *Church*, that active and unwea-

⁴⁰⁰ See Church, *Entertaining History*, 112, ed. 1827.

ried Commander, of *Plimouth Colony*, was at this Time as well as long before, out upon the Chase with but eighteen English, and twenty two *Indians* that were Friends, had four several Engagements with *Philips* Party, wherein he spoiled seventy six of the Enemy, without the Loss of one of his own Men. In several of these Skirmishes, those *Indians* that upon Submission had their Lives given them, have done notable Services in hunting out the Enemy in all their lurking Places.⁴⁰¹

At another Time they took *Philips* Squaw, and one of his chief Councillors;⁴⁰² and about that same Time, another Sachim about *Pocasset*, with forty *Indians*, submitted himself to the Government of *Plimouth*, on Promise of Life and Liberty.⁴⁰³

It seemed that now the Time of our Deliver-

⁴⁰¹ The Expeditions of Church are fully detailed in his Work so often quoted. See also a very accurate and elegant Account of them by Mr. Baylies, in his *History of New Plymouth*, Part iii.

⁴⁰² Church relates the Capture of Philip's Wife, and "Son of about nine Years old," but he gives no Date. See *Entertaining History*, 111. Previously he mentions the Death of "Philip's old Uncle, *Akkompoin*," who was shot "by some brisk Bridgewater Lads," as he was crossing Taunton River on a Tree that had been felled across it.

⁴⁰³ This Paragraph probably refers to the "coming in" of *Peter*

Awasbunks. There came with Peter, one named *George*, and another named "*David*, allies *Chowabunna*." They desired to treat for the surrender of about thirty Men with their Wives and Children. The Court treated Peter rather gruffly; questioning him as a Criminal on Trial. And, although he acquitted himself handsomely, he got no other Satisfaction than this: "Wee take notice of your Tender, see farr as to waite for further Probation;" ordering him to render himself and others to the Army in the Field, and to be at the Disposal of the Commander. See *Plymouth Col. Records*, v, 201-3.

ance was come, and the Time also for the Destruction of our Enemies: for the last Week in July,⁴⁰⁴ the *Massachusetts* understanding that some Indians were seen roving up and down the Woods about *Dedham*, almost starved for want of Victuals, sent a small Company of twenty six Soldiers, with about nine or ten Christians *Indians*, who pursued and took fifty of the Enemy, without any Loss to the English; at which Time also, a good Quantity of *Wampampeag* and Powder was taken from the Enemy. That which encreased this Victory was the Slaughter of *Pombam*, who was one of the stoutest and most valiant Sachims that belonged to the *Narbagansets*; whose Courage and Strength was so great, that after he had been mortally wounded in the Fight, so as himself could not stand: yet catching hold of an English man that by Accident came near him, had done him a Mischief, if he had not been presently rescued by one of his Fellows. Amongst the Rest of the Captives at that Time, was one of the said *Pombams* Sons, a very likely Youth, and one whose Countenance would have bespoke Favour for him, had he not belonged to so bloody and barbarous an *Indian* as his Father was.

These Successes being daily bruited abroad among the *Indians*, put many of them into a trembling Condition, not knowing well how to dispose of themselves; some that had been less

⁴⁰⁴ July 25th. Mather, *Brief nicle*, 137, the Date is July 27th. *History*, 180-1; but in the *Chro-* See also Gookin, 112.

Active in these Tragedies, and were rather led by others, than any wise inclined to Mischief themselves, adventured to submit themselves, of which Number was one of [101] *Nipnet* Sachims, called *Sagamore John*, who *July* 27, came to surrender himself to the Governour and Council of the *Massachusetts* at *Boston*, bringing along with him one hundred and eighty of the Enemy *Indians*. This *John*, that he might the more ingratiate himself with the English, whose Friendship he was now willing to seek after, did by a Wile get into his Hands one *Matoonas*, and old malicious Villian, who was the first that did any Mischief within the *Massachusetts Colony*, *July* 14, 1675, bearing an old Grudge against them as is thought, for Justice that was done upon one of his Sons, 1671,⁴⁰⁵ whose Head ever since stands upon a Pole near the Gibbet where he was hanged up: the bringing in of this malicious Caitiff, was an hopeful Prefage, that it would not be long before *Philip* himself, the grand Villian, would in like Manner, receive a just Reward of his Wickedness and Murders.

Sagamore John, that came in *July* 27, affirmed, that he had never intended any Mischief to the English at *Brookfield* the last Year (near which Village it seems his Place was) but that *Philip* coming over-night amongst them, he was forced, for Fear of his own Life, to joyn with them against the English. *Matoonas* also, when he was

⁴⁰⁵ For the Murder of Zachary Smith. See Note 72, ante.

brought before the Council, and asked what he had to say for himself, confessed that he had rightly deserved Death, and could expect no other; adding withal, that if he had followed their Counsell he had not come to this: for he had often seemed to favour the Praying *Indians*, and the Christian Religion, but like *Simon Magus*, by his after Practice, discovered quickly, that he had no Part nor Portion in that Matter.⁴⁰⁶

About this Time several Parties of English, within *Plimouth* Jurisdiction, were willing to have a Hand in so good a Matter, as catching of *Philip* would be, who perceiving that he was now going down the Wind, were willing to hasten his Fall. Amongst others a small Party, *July* 31, went out of *Bridgewater* upon discovery, and by Providence were directed to fall upon a Company of *Indians* where *Philip* was; they came up with them, and killed some of his special Friends; *Philip* himself was next to his Uncle, that was shot down, and had the Soldier had his Choice which to shoot at, known which had been the right Bird, he might as well have taken him as his Uncle, but 'tis said that he had newly cut off his Hair, that he might not be known:⁴⁰⁷ the Party that did this Exploit were few in Number, and therefore not being able to keep altogether close in the Reer, that cunning Fox escaped away through the Bushes undiscerned, in the Reer of the Eng-

⁴⁰⁶ See *Old Indian Chronicle*.

⁴⁰⁷ This is very different from Church's Account. Philip's Escape

was the Day following the Death of *Akkompoin*. See *Church*, 110, also Baylies, *N. Plym.* iii.

lish. That which was most remarkable in this Design, was that trembling Fear discerned to be upon the *Indians* at this Time, insomuch that one of them having a Gun in his [102] Hand well laden, yet was not able to shoot it off, but suffered an English Soldier to come close up to his Breast, and so shot him down, the other not being able to make any Resistance: nor was any of the English hurt at this Time.

The like Terror was seen in others at that Time; for within two Days after, Capt. *Church*, the Terror of the *Indians* in *Plimouth* Colony, marching in pursuit of *Philip*, with but thirty English-men, and twenty reconciled *Indians*, took twenty three of the Enemy, and the next Day following them by their Tracts, fell upon their Head-Quarters, and killed and took about an hundred and thirty of them, but with the Loss of one *English Man*; ⁴⁰⁸ in this Engagement God did appear in a more than ordinary Manner to fight for the English: for the *Indians* by their Number, and other Advantages of the Place, were so conveniently provided, that they might have made the first Shot at the English, and done them much Damage; but one of their own Country-men⁴⁰⁹ in Capt. *Church's* Company espy-

⁴⁰⁸ Thomas Lucas, of Plymouth, who "not being so careful as he might have been about his Stand, was killed." Church 115, and *Book of the Indians*, 225.

⁴⁰⁹ *Matthias*. We are indebted to Dr. I. Mather for the Name of

this Indian, and though Mr. Hubbard seems to have got his Account from Mather, he omits the Name of the Indian; and even Church, who is exceedingly minute, omits the Name also. See *Brief History*, 188; *Church*, 114. The Affair took place on August 1st.

ing them, called aloud unto them in their own Language, telling them, *that if they shot a Gun, they were all dead Men*; with which they were so amazed, that they durst not once offer to fire at the English, which made the Victory the more remarkable: *Philip* made a very narrow Escape at that Time, being forced to leave his Treasures, his beloved Wife and only Son, to the Mercy of the English, *Skin for Skin, all that a Man hath will he give for his Life*: His Ruine being thus gradually carried on, his Misery was not prevented but augmented thereby; being himself made acquainted with the Sence and experimental Feeling of the captivity of his Children, loss of his Friends, slaughter of his Subjects, bereavement of all Family Relations, and being stript of all outward Comforts, before his own Life should be taken away. Such Sentence sometime passed upon *Cain*, made him cry out, *that his Punishment was greater than he could bear*.

This bloody Wretch had one Week or two more to live, an Object of Pity, but a Spectacle of Divine Vengeance; his own Followers beginning now to plot against his Life, to make the better Terms for their own, as they did also seek to betray *Squaw Sachim* of *Pocasset*, *Philip's* near Kinswoman and Confederate.⁴¹⁰ For,

August 6. An Indian willing to shift for himself, fled to *Taunton*, offering to lead any of the

⁴¹⁰ *Weetamoo*. Or, as Captain Thus, likewise, Mrs. Rowlandson Church has the Name, *Wittamore*. has it,

English that would follow him, to a Party of *Indians*, which they might easily apprehend; which twenty attempted, and accordingly seized the whole Company to the Number of twenty six; all but that Squaw Sachim herself, who intending to make an Escape from the Danger, attempted to get over a River or Arm of the Sea near [103] by, upon a Raft or some Peices of broken Wood; but whether tired and spent with Swimming, or starved with Cold and Hunger, she was found stark naked in *Metapoiset*, not far from the Waterside; which made some think, that she was first half drowned, and so ended her wretched Life just in that Place where the Year before she had helped *Philip* to make his Escape: her Head being cut off and set upon a Pole in *Taunton*, was known by some *Indians* then Prisoners, which set them into an horrid Lamentation;⁴¹¹ but such

⁴¹¹ Such was the melancholy Fate of the once proud Queen of Pocasset, who before the War is said to have had large and valuable Possessions. "She is as potent a Prince as any round about her, and hath as much Corn, Land, and Men at her Command." *Chronicle*, 6. She became the Wife of a great Chief named *Quinnapin*, who being at the sacking of Lancaster became possessed of Mrs. Rowlandson as his Prisoner, and hence the Slave of *Weetamoo*. "A severe and proud Dame she was," says Mrs. R., "bestowing every Day in dressing herself near as much Time as any of the Gentry of the Land: Pow-

dering her Hair and painting her Face, going with her Necklaces, with Jewels in her Ears, and Bracelets upon her Hands. When she had dressed herself, her Work was to make Girdles of Wampum and Beads." At a Dance she is thus described: "She had a kersey Coat, covered with Girdles of Wampum from the Loins upward. Her Arms from her Elbows to her Hands were covered with Bracelets. There were Handfuls of Necklaces about her Neck, and several sorts of Jewels in her Ears. She had fine red Stockings, and white Shoes, her Hair powdered, and her Face painted red, that was always before black.

was the righteous Hand of God, in bringing at the last that Mischief upon themselves, which they had without Cause thus long acted against others.

Philip, like a Salvage and wild Beast, having been hunted by the English Forces through the Woods, above an hundred Miles backward and forward, at last was driven to his own Den, upon *Mount-hope*, where retiring himself with a few of his best Friends into a Swamp, which proved but a Prison to keep him fast, till the Messengers of Death came by Divine Permission to execute Vengeance upon him, which was thus accomplished.

Such had been his inveterate Malice and Wickedness against the English, that despairing of Mercy from them, he could not bear that any thing should be suggested to him about a Peace, inasmuch as he caused one of his Confederates to be killed for propounding an Expedient of Peace;⁴¹² which so provoked some of his Company, not altogether so desperate as himself, that one of them (being near of kin that was killed)

And all the Dancers were after the same Manner." *Captivity*, 63-4, 73. *Edition*, 1828. A magnificent Subject for a Poet, it must be confessed, but the Authors of *Tamoyden*, signally failed in their Attempt to distinguish "Pocasset's Warrior Queen."

Doings above a Quarter of a Century after this Fact was written, speaks as though Philip had killed the Man himself, which is improbable; for, from the Insight I have been able to obtain of his Character, I do not think he ever had the Courage to commit Murder. See *Church*, 121; Mather, *Brief History*, 193-4.

⁴¹² Church, who recorded his

fled to Road-Island (whither, that active Champion Capt. *Church* was newly retired, to recruit his Men for a little Time, being much tired with hard Marches all that Week) informing them that *Philip* was fled to a Swamp in *Mount-hope* whither he would undertake to lead them that would pursue him. This was welcome News, and the best Cordial for such martial Spirits:⁴¹³ whereupon he immediately, with a small Company of Men, part English and part *Indians*, began another March, which shall prove fatal to *Philip*, an end that Controversie betwixt the English and him: for coming very early to the side of the Swamp, his Soldiers began presently to surround it, and whether the Devil appeared to him in a Dream that Night, as he did unto *Saul*, foreboding his tragical End (it matters not);⁴¹⁴ as he intended to make his Escape out of the Swamp, he was shot through the Heart by an *Indian* of his own Nation, as is said, that had all this while kept himself in a Neutrality until this Time, but now had the cast-

⁴¹³ "Capt. Church being now at Plymouth again, weary and worn, would have gone Home to his Wife and Family, but the Government being solicitous to engage him in the Service until Philip was slain, and promising him Satisfaction and Redress for some Mistreatment that he had met with, he fixes for another Expedition." *Entertaining History*, 120.

⁴¹⁴ "That very Night Philip

(like the Man in the Army of Midian) had been dreaming that he was fallen into the Hands of the English; and now just as he was telling his Dream with Advice unto his Friends to fly for their Lives, lest the Knave who had newly gone from them, should shew the English how to come at them, Capt. Church with his Company fell upon them." C. Mather (in *Brief History*), 196.

ing-vote in his Power, by which he determined the Quarrel that had held so long in Suspense,⁴¹⁵ in him is fulfilled what was said in the Prophet, *Wo to thee that spoileth, and thou wast not spoiled, and dealest [104] treacherously, and they dealt not treacherously with thee; when thou shalt make an End to deal treacherously, they shall deal treacherously with thee, Isa. 33. 1.*

With *Philip* at this Time fell five of his truest Followers, of whom one was said to be the Son of his chief Captain, that had shot the first Gun at the English the Year before.⁴¹⁶ This was done

⁴¹⁵ The fancy Name of this Indian was *Alderman*; given him by the English of course. His Indian Name does not appear. "Philip having one very remarkable Hand, being much scarred, occasioned by the splitting of a Pistol in it formerly, Capt. Church gave the Head and that Hand to *Alderman*, the Indian who shot him, to show to such Gentlemen as would bestow Gratuities upon him; and accordingly he got many a Penny by it." *Entertaining History*, 126. This *Alderman*, according to Dr. I. Mather, formerly belonged to Squaw-Sachim [*Weetamoo*] of Pocasset. In the Beginning of the War he came to the Governor of Plymouth, manifesting his Desire to be at peace with the English, and immediately withdrew to an Island, not having engaged against the English nor for them, before this Time." *Brief History*, 194-5.

⁴¹⁶ Church does not tell us who

were killed with Philip, while it appears from Dr. Mather's Account that but two of Philip's Party escaped; for he says it consisted of only seven. See *Brief History*, 194. But this does not agree with Church's *Narrative*. That says many of the Indians escaped from the Swamp at a Point not guarded by Church's Men. See *Entertaining Hist.*, 125. *Annawon* was present with Philip, and we are told that he called on his Men "to stand to it and fight stoutly." *Ibid.* Church had with him a Number of his old and tried Soldiers, but he does not inform us who they were, except a few incidentally. Doubtless Lieut. Jabez Howland and William [B. ?] Southworth were among those who went from Plymouth with him. On Rhode Island he was joined by Maj. Peleg Sanford and Capt. Roger Golding. These were at the killing of Philip. *Entertaining History*, 118, 120.

August 12. 1676, a remarkable Testimony of divine Favour to the Colony of *Plimouth*, who had for their former Successes, appointed the 17th Day of August following, to be kept as a Day of solemn Thanksgiving to Almighty God. There having been so strange a Turn of Providence observed in the late Successes obtained in and about *Plimouth* Colony, it may not be amiss here to enquire into the Occasions that did lead thereunto, and also into the Progress and Continuance thereof, after the Slaughter of *Philip*, that grand Rebel.

In the precedent Narration frequent Mention hath been made of one Capt. *Church*, whom God hath made an Instrument of signal Victories over the *Indians* in that Colony, and of great Advantage in that Respect to that whole jurisdiction. It hapned that the said Capt. *Church* some time in *June* last⁴¹⁷ viz. of this present Year, 1676, passing over in a Canoo, from *Pocasset* to *Road-Island*, as he used frequently to do (having had much Employment upon the said Neck of Land, so called) several *Indians* whom he had known before at *Lakenham*⁴¹⁸ (a Village near *Pocasset*) beckned to him, as if they had a Mind to speak with him; he having had so much Experience

⁴¹⁷ Church was at Plymouth on the 8th of June, and set out immediately for Rhode Island. *Enter-taining History*, 74.

⁴¹⁸ "Upon Pocasset Neck, so full of Bushes that a Man could not

see a Rod before him." See p. [107, onward. The Name has long since given place to another. Plymouth included it at that Day. It was an imported Name, and so called from *Lakenham* in the County of Norfolk, near Norwich, England, probably.

as well as others of their Treachery, was not willing to adventure presently to come near them; but when they seemed to urge very much, and made many Signs to him, and at last laid down their Guns in his Sight, he began to think with himself, there might be something in the Matter more than ordinary, therefore resolved to go a little nearer to the Shore, and then he perceived they had a great Mind to speak with him, using much importunity for that End, inasmuch as he ventured to go ashore amongst them, having but one English-man, and two *Indians* with him; he directed them to keep off the Canoe, while he discoursed with the *Indians* ashore: as soon as ever he came amongst them, they told him they were weary of fighting, and that they had fought so long by *Philip's* Instigation, but they could not tell for what End, and therefore were resolved they would fight no longer; and that which they desired of him, only was, that he would make Way for them to the Governour, that they may live quietly amongst the English, as they had done before, and that they would deliver up their Arms, or would go out with them, if he pleased to accept of them, and fight for him: [105] to that End they desired a Time to parly with him further about that Business, at what Time and Place he would appoint: He told them he would meet them two Days after at *Saconet*, a Place up higher upon the said Neck, about twelve a Clock; accordingly he came to the said Place, and found

the same *Indians*, with some others, and their *Sunke Squaw*,⁴¹⁹ or chief Woman of that *Indian* Plantation, there ready to meet him.

After they had fallen into Discourse about the Beginning of the War, as well as the Success and Mischief of it, they would have put the Blame off from themselves, and laid it upon the English: but he presently convinced them by an undeniable Evidence, that they first began the War; For said he upon this *Pocasset*, July 7, 1675, you first fought with some of *Road-Island*, whereof one was my own Servant, whose Leg you broke, and the same Day you shot at myself and Company, before ever we meddled with you: They were so fully convinced herewith, that they found nothing to reply, but fell into other Discourse about a Peace, which they seemed very desirous to obtain upon any equal Terms, as was said before.⁴²⁰

There were about fifteen of the Indians present, beside their *Sunke Squaw* (which is with us their Governess or Lady); in Conclusion they engaged for ever after to leave *Philip*, and to go out with him; which they did forthwith, as soon as he had obtained a Peace for them with the Governour.

It is here to be minded, that these were not properly *Philip's Indians*, but belonged to the *Sakonnet Squaw*, who was nearly related to *Philip*, and her Subjects had hitherto fought in *Philip's*

⁴¹⁹ Weetamoo. *Sanke* was a Name by which the Wife of a Sachem was known among the Narragansets.

⁴²⁰ Compare this Account with that of Church, commencing at Page 75 of *Entertaining History*.

Quarrel, till they saw nothing but Misery and Mischiefe like to be the Issue of it to themselves, as well as their Neighbours. About twenty or thirty of these *Sakonet Indians* have constantly gone out with Capt. *Church* ever since, and not only been faithful and serviceable to him, but very successful in every Enterprize they have gone about; nor hath he lost any of them in any Skirmish with the other *Indians*; And it is said that this Act of these *Indians* broke *Philip's* Heart as soon as ever he understood it, so as he never joyed after, or had any Success in any of his Designs, but lost his Men one Time after another, till himself at last fell into the Hands of these *Indians* under Capt. *Churches* Command: For at the Swamp when Philip was slain, Capt. *Church* appointed an English Man and an *Indian* to stand at such a Place of the Swamp, where it hapned that *Philip* was breaking away;⁴²¹ the Morning being wet and rainy, the English Mans Gun would not fire, the *Indian* having an old Musket with a large [106] Touch-hole, it took fire the more readily, with which *Philip* was despatched, the Bullet passing directly through his Heart,

⁴²¹ "Capt. Church knowing that it was Philip's Custom to be foremost in the Flight, went down to the Swamp and gave Capt. [John] Williams of Scituate the Command of the right Wing of the Ambush, and placed an Englishman and an Indian together behind such shelters of Trees, &c., as he could find,

taking care to place them at such Distance, that none might pass undiscovered between them. It being somewhat farther through the Swamp than he was aware of, he wanted men to make up his Ambuscade." Hence the Escape of some of Philip's Party as already mentioned. See *Entertaining History*, 122, 125.

where *Joab* thrust his Darts into the rebellious *Abalom*.⁴²²

Thus did Divine Vengeance retaliate upon this notorious Traitor, that had against his League and Covenant risen up against the Government of *Plimouth*, to raise up against him one of his own People, or one that was in League with him, as he was with the English: The *Indian* that did this Execution was called *Alderman* of *Sakonet* that had never done any Act of Hostility against the English.

By these Passages it is manifest, that as *the Hearts of all are in the Hands of God, so he turns them as he pleases*, either to favour his People, or to hate and deal subtilly with his Servants, as seems good to him.

Since this Engagement with the *Sakonet Indians*, to leave *Philip*, and to go out with Capt. *Church*, it is credibly affirmed; that such hath been their Success, that since *June* aforesaid, to the end of *October* next following, there have been seven hundred *Indians* subdued, either by killing or taking Captive, by the means of Capt. *Church* and his Company, part *Indians*, and part English, besides three hundred that have come

⁴²² And, says Dr. I. Mather, "Thus did God break the Head of that *Leviathan*, and give it to be Meat to the People inhabiting the Wilderness, and brought it to the Town of Plymouth, the very Day of their solemn Festival." August

17th. *Philip's* Head was set up on the Fort there, where it remained a quarter of a Century or more, as it appears from what Dr. C. Mather says in his Account of the War, who took away one of the Jaws. See *Brief History*, 197.

in voluntarily to submit themselves to the Government of *Plimouth*.

It appears thus by the Sequel of things, that after the Lord hath accomplished his Work upon his People, that he is beginning to call his Enemies to an Account, and punish them for the Pride of their Hearts, and for all their Treachery and Cruelty against his Servants.

Philip's Captains have run the same Fate with himself, some before and some after his own Fall.

In *June* last one *Tiasbq*⁴²³ a great Captain of his, his Wife and Child or Children being taken, though he escaped himself at first, yet came since and surrendered himself.

The next noted Captain of *Philip's Indians* that was brought in after *Philip's* Death, was one called *Tespiquin*,²²⁴ a notorious Villian, next to *Philip*, he was called the black *Sachems* Son: It was this *Tespiquin* that burnt so many Houses in *Plimouth* lately.⁴²⁵ Capt. *Church* with his Company were in Pursuit of him in *September* last, two Days before they could get near him; at the last on the third Day they found the Track made by the said *Tespiquin's* Party, as they went to fetch Apples from the English Orchards: This was something [of] a blind Track, therefore they were

⁴²³ Capt. Church gives his name *Tyaks*.

⁴²⁴ The Name of this noted Chief I find from Deeds and other original Papers was *Watuspequin*. He with others was shot at Plymouth, contrary to the express Conditions on which

he surrendered to Capt. Church. The Transaction will ever remain a foul Stain upon the Government of Plymouth. See *Church*, 146.

⁴²⁵ On the 11th of May they burnt eleven Houses. See *ante* p. 220, and Davis's *Morton*, 444.

forced to take up their Quarters that Night without discovering any Place of their Rendezvous. The next Morning about nine of the Clock, they came to their first Rendezvous, from which they were newly gone: at One a Clock they came to the second, and missing [107] them there, they soon after came to the third Track, wherein after they had marched awhile, they perceived they grew very near them, by the crying of a Child which they heard: the Place was near *Lakenham* upon *Pocasset* Neck, so full of Bushes that a Man could not see a Rod before him: Captain *Church* ordered his Men to March up together in one Rank, because he discovered the *Indians* were laid in one Range by several Fires, so that by that Time they all came up into an even Rank pretty near together, within a few Yards of them, as he had appointed, they all suddenly rushed altogether in upon them, and caught hold of them, not suffering any to escape; there being about fifty of them in all: *Tespiquin's* Wife and Children were there, but himself was absent, as also one *Jacob*, and a Girl that belonged to that Company. The Captain's Leisure would not serve him to wait till they came in (though the *Indians* said they might come that Night), wherefore he thought upon this Project; to leave two old *Squawes* upon the Place with Victuals, and bid them tell *Tespiquin*, that he should be his Captain over his *Indians* if he were found so stout a Man, as they reported him to

be; for the *Indians* had said that *Tespiquin* could not be pierced by a Bullet; for said they, he was shot twice, but the Bullets glanced by him and could not hurt him. Thus the Captain marched away with his Booty, leaving this Trap behind him to take the Rest; the next Morning he came to see what his Trap had catch'd, there he found *Jacob* aforesaid (a notorious Wretch) and the Girl he missed before, but not *Tespiquin*: But within a Day or two after, the said *Tespiquin*, upon the Hopes of being made a Captain under Capt. *Church*, came after some of the Company, and submitted himself in the Captain's Absence; and was sent to *Plimouth*, but upon Trial (which was the Condition on which his being promised a Captain's Place under Capt. *Church* did depend) he was found penetrable by the English Guns, for he fell down at the first Shot, and thereby received the just Reward of his former Wickedness.⁴²⁶

About a Fortnight after the surprising of *Tespiquin*, was one *Totoson's* Company taken, wherein were above fifty Persons: but *Totoson* himself escaped, and is out still in Rebellion, unless Vengeance hath overtaken him since.⁴²⁷

The next that was seized after the former, was one called *Annawan*; a very Subtil politick Fel-

⁴²⁶ The bad Faith of the Government in thus putting to Death those who had surrendered on a promise of good Quarter, is singularly in Contrast with the Character of many of the Plymouth People.

⁴²⁷ In speaking of *Totoson's* Death, *Church* is very prolix; but if I mistake not his meaning, the "famous" Chief died of Sickness not long after *Tispequin's* Execution. See *Church*, 119.

low, and one of *Philips* chief Councillors; he had about twelve Men, and as many Women and Children in his Company, who were discovered by their shooting at the English Horses, and other Cattel; some of whom being taken, they made known the Rest. Capt. *Church* at that Time had but five English-men, and twenty Indians. [108] The Place where this *Annawan* had betaken himself, was a Ledge of Rocks inaccessible but at one Place, which by a few Hands might easily have been defended against a great Number of Assailants:⁴²⁸ but Capt. *Church* by Direction got up to their Wigwams before they were aware: and pleasantly told *Annawan* that he had come to sup with him that Night; whereat the said *Annawan* (who had fallen flat upon the Earth, expecting to have his Head cut off) looked up and cried *Taubut*,⁴²⁹ in their Language, *thank you*, as one being much affected with the Generosity of our English Captain; they found some of the English Beef boiling in their Kettles: After Supper much Discourse had with the said *Annawan*, they lay down to sleep together in the Wigwam: Capt. *Church* laying one of his Legs upon *Annawan's* Son, and the other upon himself, that he might have Notice if any of them offered to stir: after Midnight *Annawan* rose up, and Capt. *Church* was presently awake, and intended to

⁴²⁸ I made a rude Sketch of the Place, which was engraved upon a copper Plate for my Edition of *Church's History*.

⁴²⁹ According to *Heckewelder* the same Word was in use among the *Delawares* and had the same Signification.

watch after his Prisoner: he thought at the first he might have gone forth upon some necessary Occasion; but not long after, he returned again, having fetched out of a Swamp hard by, two Horns of Powder, and a large Belt of Peag, supposed to be *Philip's* Belt, all which he delivered to Capt. *Church*, in way of thankful Acknowledgment of his Courtesie. Amongst other Discourse that passed between them, concerning the Occasion of the War, and carrying of it on, the *Indian* would fain have excused *Philip*, and laid the Blame upon the Praying-Indians⁴³⁰ (as they are distinguished from others by that Character) and others of the younger Sort of his Followers, who coming with their several Tales (which he likened to Sticks laid on a Heap) till by the Multitude of them a great Fire came to be kindled;⁴³¹ they make much use of Parabolical Expressions; for so said *Solomon*, *Where no Wood is, there the Fire goeth out; so where there is no Tale-bearer the Strife ceaseth*, Prov. 26. 20. But *Philip* had large and long Experience of the Gentleness and Kindness of the English both to himself and to his People, so as unless he had born an evil and malicious Mind against the English, he would never have hearkened to those Stories, contrary to his faithful Promise and Allegiance.

The said *Annawan* confesseth also, that he did

⁴³⁰ Church does not mention this. Indeed his Account of what passed in Conversation between himself and Annawan is very meagre.

⁴³¹ This forcibly reminds us of the Reply made by another great Chief on quite a different Occasion. See *Book of the Indians*, 536.

believe by all those late Occurrents, that there was a great God that over-ruled all ; and that he had found, that whatever he had done to any of those, whether *Indians* or English, the same was brought upon himself in after-time. He confessed also, that he had put to Death several of the English, that they had taken alive, ten in one Day : and could not deny but that some of them had been tortured : and now he could not but see the Justice of the great God upon himself, with many other Things of like Nature. [109] But whatever his Confessions of this Nature were, being forced from him by the Power of Conscience, after he was delivered up to Authority, he was put to Death, as he justly had deserved.⁴³²

It is said that *Philip* when he first began his Rebellion, had about three hundred fighting Men under him, besides those that belonged to his kinswoman *Wetamoe*, drowned about *Taunton*, that had almost as many under her as himself. And one *Quenopin*, a *Narhaganset* Sachim, that lived near him, and joyned with him in his Quarrel with the English : But it is certain that there are scarce any that are now left that belonged to either of them : so as although the Almighty hath made Use of them to be a Scourge to his People, he hath now turned his Hand

⁴³² This Account of the Confessions of Annawon is not mentioned by Church or any other of the early Writers. On the other Hand there is Evidence that Church

heard of his Execution with Sadness, and was "greatly grieved" in Consequence, as will ever be the humane Reader. See *Entertaining History*, 146.

against them, to their utter Destruction and Extirpation from off the Face of the Earth, peradventure to make Room for others of his People to come in their Room, and in their Stead.

As for the Rest of the *Narhagansets* that joyned in *Philip's* Quarrel, it is already declared what End they were come unto. As for the Rest of the *Indians*, whether *Nipnet*, *Nashaway*, *Pacomptuck*, or *Hadly* and *Springfield* Indians; it is not so certain what has become of them: But after their Separation one from the other about *July* last, it was observed by all the Tracts in those Woods, they went still Westward, and about the Middle of *August* last, a great Party of them were observed to pass by *Westfield*, a small Town to the West of *Springfield*, and were judged to be about two hundred: News thereof being brought to Major *Talcot*, he with the Soldiers of *Connecticut Colony* under his Command, both English and *Indians*, pursued after them as far as *Ausotunnoog*⁴³³ River (in the middle Way betwixt *Westfield* and the *Dutch River*, and *Fort-Albany*) where he overtook them, and fought with them; killing and taking Prisoners forty-five, whereof twenty-five were fighting Men, without the Loss of any one of his Company, besides a *Mobegin Indian*; many of the Rest were forely wounded, as appeared by the dabling of the Bushes with Blood,

⁴³³ The modern *Housatonic*. The most other Indian Names. It is Name was variously written, like said to mean *over the Mountain*.

as was observed by them that followed them a little further.⁴³⁴

It is written since from *Albany*, that there were sundry Lost besides the forty five forementioned, to the Number of threescore in all; and also that a hundred and twenty of them are since dead of Sicknefs: so as Vengeance seems to be pursuing of them as well as the Rest.⁴³⁵

Several of their Friends that belonged to *Nashaway*, and the Places adjoining, repaired to *Pascataqua*, hoping to shrowd themselves under the Wings of some honefter *Indians* about *Queecho*, under Pretence [110] of a Declaration set out by the Governour and Council of the *Massachusetts* in the beginning of *July* last: but some of

⁴³⁴ Major Pynchon, writing from Springfield, on the 15th of August, (1676) said that three Days before, near 200 Indians were discovered within three or four Miles of Westfield, and that the People had made a slight Attack upon them, but the Indians were so numerous that they durst not venture to engage them. It appears those Indians were fleeing towards the Hudson River. About the same Time Major Talcott arrived at Springfield. He had just marched from Quabaog, where he had destroyed the Indian's Corn, and immediately pursued on after the Fugitives. They crossed the Connecticut just below the Great [Swamscott] Falls. Talcott overtook, and partially surpris'd them on the 19th of August, killing and taking about forty-five of them.

The Rest escaped into the surrounding Wilderness, and could not be pursued. See Judd, *History, Hadley*, 181; Trumbull, *History, Connecticut*, i, 348 9. In a Note by the Printer of the Stockbridge Edition of this Work, it is said, "This Battle was probably fought in Stockbridge, near where the Meeting-house now stands." I should remark, that Mr. Judd's Date of the Surprise cannot possibly be the true one. It should probably be August 15th. See *Colony Records, Connecticut*, ii, 469.

⁴³⁵ See several Letters respecting those Indians that fled towards Albany, which passed between the Council of Connecticut and Gov. Andros, in *Colony Records of Connecticut*, ii, 494-7. See also Hutchinson's *Col. Orig. Papers*, 476-7.

our Forces under Capt. *Hathorne* and Capt. *Sill*, with the Help of Major *Walden*, Captain *Frost*, and others residing in those Parts, being then in a Readiness, seperated the Vile and Wicked from the Rest, and sent them down to the Governour at *Boston*, where eight or nine of the Ring-leaders, such as One-eyed *John*, Sagamore *Sam* of *Nashaway*, chief Actors of the late Outrages and bloody Mischiefs, had Justice done upon them soon after.⁴³⁶

As for the Massacres and Calamities that befell the English further Eastward, they shall in the second Part of this Narrative be declared.

The *Indians* being thus dispersed several Ways, were strangely confounded, and destroyed one Parcel after another, untill there was none left in the Western or Southern Parts, that durst make any Opposition all the following Part of the Year.

As for those that fled Westward toward *Albany*, we shall there leave them for the Present, wishing we may never hear more of them: only a Person of Quality informeth, that at *Hartford*, in *September* last, he was present at the Examination of one *Choos* an *Indian*, formerly of *Connecticut*, but one of the *Narbaganset* Fort last Winter, who confessed that he was one of that Company of *Indians* that went Westward the Month before

⁴³⁶ A Number of English Captives were delivered up at the same Time. See Dr. Belknap's judicious

Remarks on this Transaction, in *History, New Hampshire*, i, 142-5, Edition, 1784.

toward *Hudsons* River ; but after the Fight at *Ausotunoog*, he said he returned back to *Connecticut* for fear of the *Mohawks*: and that he lay hid about *Farmington* till he was almost starved : and then he went to the Seaside to make use of the Oister-bank at *Stratford* for his Relief, where he was espied by the *Indians*, and so brought to *Hartford*.⁴³⁷

He affirmed, that there were above two hundred and fifty fighting Men amongst those *Indians* that fled Westward, besides Women and Children ; and that near two hundred of them passed the great River, below *Albany*, and were sheltered by the *Indians* of that Place called *Mobeganders* ; but about eighty of them tarried on the Hither-side of that *River* near a *Dutch* Village. But he being convicted of fighting against the English, was condemned to die, and executed about the same Time.

Some few of the Rest were skulking about the *Narhaganset* Country the last Fall, hoping to shelter themselves under *Vncas*, but he not willing to give them Countenance against the Mind of his Friends at *Connecticut*, hath since abandoned them to shift for themselves, who have bin most of them taken and brought in Prisoners to the English this Winter.

About the month of *October* last, Mr. *Stanton*

⁴³⁷ According to the Testimony of *Menozniett*, another Indian, at *Hartford*, in August of this Year, the Mischiefs of *Cboos* were Exten-

sive, and of the worst Character. See *Colonial Records of Connecticut*, ii, 472, 479. *Cobas*, and *Cobaufe* are Names of the same Indian.

chanced to come from *Seaconke* with three *Indians* in his Company, *Pequods* or *Mobegins*; they [III] hearing by a Captive at one of the next Towns that there was a Parcel of the Enemy not far off, presently left Mr. *Stanton*, and pursued after them, whom they soon after overtook, and made them all Prisoners. Amongst them was an old Man, not able to go their Pace, but promising to come after them, they spared his Life: but as soon as the Men returned at Night from Hunting, the old Man told them what had befallen their Women and Children; whereupon the next Morning they presently following after them, overtook them, and so recovered the Prisoners, and slew one of the three that carried them away;⁴³⁸ the other two hardly escaped; one of them is called Major *Symon*, being Part a *Pequod* and Part a *Narbaganset*, but of extraordinary Strength and Courage; he perceiving the Danger they were in, challenged to fight Hand to Hand with any five of them with their Hatchets: but they unwilling to hang their Success upon the Hazard of a single Combate, came all towards him at once, whereupon first discharging his Gun amongst the whole Company, he brake through them all by Force, and so escaped their Hands, with one more that was of his Companions. This *Simon* hath since been very active in killing and taking many of the Enemy; some

⁴³⁸ The Author is not often so Prolix as in this Instance. I presume him to mean, that the returned enemy Indians slew one of those which returned to Stanton. That is, one of Stanton's Indians.

say that he with his own Hands hath taken and killed above Threescore ; and either out of Hatred to the Enemy, or Love to the English, is this last Week gone with the Soldiers to the Eastward, in Pursuit of our Quarrell against them in those Parts.⁴³⁹

At another Time not long before, when he was out against the Enemy, he came suddenly upon a great Number of them, as they were spread under a steep Bank, from whence leaping down into the Midst of them he killed Divers, and took others : Fighting it seems is a Recreation to him, for he is seldom at Home above four or five Daystogether.

Some say that in one of his former Expeditions, being much wearied and spent, he laid him down to sleep, but towards Morning he fell into a Dream, wherein he apprehended the *Indians* were upon him, where suddenly rising up he espied the *Indians* coming toward him, but presently presenting his Gun against them, he so frightened them, that they gave him an Opportunity to make an Escape from a Multitude of them.

Since the Beginning of *December* last, News coming down to *Boston*, that Mischief was done about *Seaconk* and *Rehoboth*, by some Remainder of the *Indians* thereabout, killing their Swine and Horses ; several of *Medfield* went out after them,

⁴³⁹ Those who went under Sill, tioned. We shall meet with another *Simon* of a different Character. and Hathorne, as is elsewhere men-

and pursuing them by their Track, came upon a small Party, of whom they took three, one of which escaped, while some of the Company were going after the Rest: They which were taken, confessed there were a Parcel, about Threescore, that were lurking [112] up and down in those Woods: the said two *Indians* were brought into *Boston*, Jan. 8.⁴⁴⁰

A Commission was formerly granted to *Peter Ephraim* an *Indian* of *Natick*, to go out in Pursuit of them, with twenty-nine of his Company: a Few of the English went with them from *Medfield*, who being tired with marching in the Snow soon returned. The *Indians* kept on in their Design, and lighted upon a considerable Party of the Enemy, having traced them, till they found where they lodged over Night; they surrounded them early in the Morning, as their Manner is, and then offered them Quarter, if they would yield: eight resolute Fellows refused, who were presently shot down, the Rest were all seized, the Whole being in Number forty two. This was done about the Middle of *January* last, since which Time several such Exploits have been done by them.

Jan. 23. last, The same Company of *Natick* Indians took two and twenty of the Enemy, among which were five able Men, and five Arms:

⁴⁴⁰ It should be remembered that the Author is now writing in 1677. Therefore, from this Time till the 25th of March his Dates should be *January 8th* 1676-7, &c., as elsewhere explained.

they sent the Prisoners Home by five of their Company, the Rest went further in the Chase.

Jan. 26. last, Another Parcel of the Enemy were brought in, eight in Number, of whom five were Men; amongst whom was the *Indian* called *Cornelius*: who three Years since was indicted for killing an English-man's Cow; upon which he is said to have uttered several threatening Speeches, that he would kill English-men, and their Cows too; which was now remembered against him, when he was in Particular called to Account, for having an Hand in killing some of the English and *Indians* also in League with us, for which he was sentenced to die, and was accordingly executed on *Febr.* 15. last.

Concerning the Rest of the *Indians*, either in the Colony of *Plimouth*, *Connecticut*, or the *Massachusetts*, there is no Occurrent more of Moment come to Light, since the End of *August* last, save what is last mentioned before; yet is it very Remarkable that although Terms of Peace were offered to all that would come in and surrender themselves (as appears by a Declaration put out in *July* last) and that a *Nipnet* Sachem called *John*, did thereupon with a considerable Number of his Company come in, and offer themselves, and were accordingly secured of their Lives, and other Concernments; yet did that treacherous Varlet make an Escape away this Winter from Capt. *Prentices* House (under whose Charge he was put, about *Cambridge* Village) and with above twenty more fled away into the Woods, to shift

for himself amongst the Rest of his bloody Companions; they were presently pursued, but had gone [113] too fast and too far to be overtaken, whether it were Conscientiousness of their own Guilt, that having had an Hand in the Blood of the English, they feared Vengeance hung over their Heads: or whether they liked not the English Manners so well, as to be confined thereunto: Wild Creatures ordinarily love the Liberty of the Woods, better than the Restraint of a Cage; they made None acquainted with their Design before they went away, and as yet little Account can be given of them: only it is known, that one or two of their Number have since been killed: and that one or two of their Families are entertained by *Vncas*, but what is become of the Rest is yet Uncertain: There were but seven of the Company, Men; so as they are not capable to do much Michief. Some of Late have travelled through the Woods to *Connecticut*, but met with no *Indians*, nor did they hear of any in their passing between that Place and this.

And because in the present *Narrative*, there hath been frequent Mention made of *Vncas* the *Mohegin Sachim*, and of his Faithfulness to the Interest of the English; I add in this Place, that it is suspected by them that knew him best, that in his Heart he is no better affected to the English, or their Religion, than the Rest of his Country-men: and that it hath been his own Advantage that hath led him to be thus true to them who have upheld him, as formerly against

the *Pequods*, so of Late against the *Narragansets*:⁴⁴¹ yet hath he not long since been convinced of the Truth of our Religion, and Vanity of his own, as himself hath solemnly confessed, which will evidently appear by this following Passage, which I shall here represent just as it was, from under the Hand of that Reverend Person it relates unto, viz. Mr. *Fitch*, Pastor of the Church at *Norwich*, near unto which *Uncas* his Place is.

There was a great Drought the last Summer: but as it seems, it was more extream in those Parts than with us about the *Massachusetts*: and although probably the English might have prayed for Rain themselves without any Motion from the *Indians*; yet their Address to the said Mr. *Fitch* on such an Account, with the Consequences thereof, is very Remarkable, which take in his own Words:

Concerning the Drought, &c. the true Narrative of that Providence is this:

⁴⁴¹ Our Estimate of the Character of *Uncas* has already been given. The Author does not make due Allowance for the peculiar Circumstances of the *Indians*. For the English to judge them like others of their own Race was exceedingly Unjust. But this was done, and they were punished as much for their Ignorance as Crimes. *Uncas* was so long and so much in Intercourse with the Settlers, that he understood them, as well, at least, as they did him.

He was a consummate Knave, but how much of his Knavery he learned of the English it is not worth while to inquire. Certain it is he made himself Indispensable to them, in their Management of the *Pequots* and *Narragansets*. For those who would extend their Inquiries further with Respect to *Uncas*, I can do no better than to refer them to the *History of New London*, by *Miss Caulkins*, a local History compiled with great Faithfulness.

In August last, such was the Want of Rain that the Indian Corn was not not only dried and parched up, but the Apple Trees withered, the Fruit and Leaves fell off as in Autumn, and some Trees seemed to be Dead with that Drought: the Indians came into the Town and did lament their Want of Rain and that their Pawawes, could get None in their Way of Worship [114] desiring me that I would seek to God for Rain; I appointed a Fast-day for that Purpose. The Day being come, it proved a clear Day without any Clouds, untill nigh Sun-setting, when he came from the Meeting, and then some Clouds arose, the next Day remaining cloudy: then Vncas with many Indians came to my House, Vncas lamented there was such Want of Rain; I asked, whether if God should send us Rain, he would not attribute it to their Pawawes? He answered, No, for they had done their Uttermost, and all in Vain: I replied, if you will declare it before all these Indians, you shall see what God will do for us; For although this Year he hath shewn his Anger against the English, and not only against the Indians, yet he hath begun to save us; and I have found by Experience twice in the like Case, when we sought him by Fasting and Prayer, he hath given us Rain, and never denied us. Then Vncas made a great Speech to the Indians (which were many) confessing, that if God should then send Rain, it could not be ascribed to their Pawawing, but must be acknowledged to be an Answer of our Prayers. This Day the Clouds spread more and more: and the

*next Day there was such a Plenty of Rain, that our River rose more than two Foot in Height.*⁴⁴²

By all that is recorded in the *Narrative* foregoing, there are none into whose Hands it shall come, but will be sensible that the present Time hath been a Day of great Rebuke and Trouble to the poor People sojourning in this Wilderness, upon whom sundry Calamities have broke in at once this Last as well as in the former Years : in many Places they have been visited with Sickness, and Mortality, more than in many Years before, depriving them of many worthy and useful Persons ; amongst others, the Loss of Mr. *John Winthrope*, the late worthy Governour of the Colony of *Connecticut*, is, as it ought, much lamented by all, who died at *Boston*, *April 5, 1676.* in the 73d Year of his Age ; whither he was occasionally called the last Winter to sit with the Rest of the Commissioners of the united Colonies, to consult about the great Affairs of them, now newly engaged in these Troubles from the Heathen.⁴⁴³ He was the eldest Son of the famous Governour of the *Massachusetts*, deceased, *March 26, 1649. Proles similima Parenti.* The Memory of the Father, though he died so long ago, yet

⁴⁴² There is another interesting Story of the ill Success of a *Powwow* related in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, ii, 44. In that Article there is a slight Error in the last Line but one. For *his Author*, read *his Mother*.

⁴⁴³ His Remains were deposited in the Winthrop Tomb, King's Chapel Burying Ground, Boston. He was a Resident of Hartford at the Time of his Death. He was long a Resident of New London, and is duly remembered by the Historian of that City.

lives still in the Minds of the surviving Generation, and is like to continue much longer, by the Remembrance of the eminent Virtues found in this the eldest of his Off-spring, who being not long after, or about that Time called to take up his Residence in that Colony, was by the Importunity of the People there, prevailed with to accept of the Governours Place, which for a long Time after, he held over that Colony, [115] though annually chosen thereunto; being so well furnished with many excellent Endowments, as well Moral as Political and Philosophical, which rendred him most fit to be an Healer of that People. Though we are dealing in another Subject, yet shall not pass by his Tomb, as we go along, without paying the Homage due to the Memory of so Honourable a Gentleman.⁴⁴⁴

After all the forementioned Calamities and Troubles, it pleased God to alarm the Town of *Boston*, and in them the whole Country, by a sad Fire, accidentally kindled by the Carelessness of an Apprentice that sat up too late over Night, as was conceived; which began an Hour before Day, continuing three or four, in which Time it burned down to the Ground forty six Dwelling

⁴⁴⁴ I am not aware that a Monument of any Kind was ever erected to the Memory of the second Governor of Massachusetts. Nor is it Necessary there should be. A Journal which he kept from his setting out from England till within a short Time of his Death in Boston, is a better Monument than

Stone or Brass can furnish. He has been called the Father of Boston, but were he alive at this Day, he probably would not covet the Paternity of its crooked Streets, yet they are the most conspicuous Monuments to his Memory likely to be erected. An Edition of his Journal with modern Light, is desirable.

Houses, besides other Buildings, together with a Meeting-house of considerable Bigness: some Mercy was observed mixt with the Judgment: for if a great Rain had not continued all the Time (the Roofs and Walls of their ordinary Buildings consisting of such combustible Matter) that whole end of the Town had at that Time been consumed.⁴⁴⁵

Whereby we see that God by his Providence can turn our Dwellings into Ashes, without the Help of either foreign or domestick Enemies. Which Consideration may awaken all from Security and Confidence in these uncertain and unstable Possessions, who have no firmer Foundation, that may so soon after their first Erection, be eaten up by the Flames of Fire, before the iron Teeth of time have had leisure to devour and feed upon them.

God grant that by the Fire of all these Judgments, we may be purged from our Dross, and become a more refined People, as Vessels fitted for our Masters Use.

⁴⁴⁵ A more particular Account of in the *History and Antiquities of* this calamitous Fire will be found *Boston.*

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS-URBANA



3 0112 077469184